Parkland, Fla., students and March for Our Lives organizers (from left) Jaclyn Corin, Alex Wind, Emma González, Cameron Kasky and David Hogg

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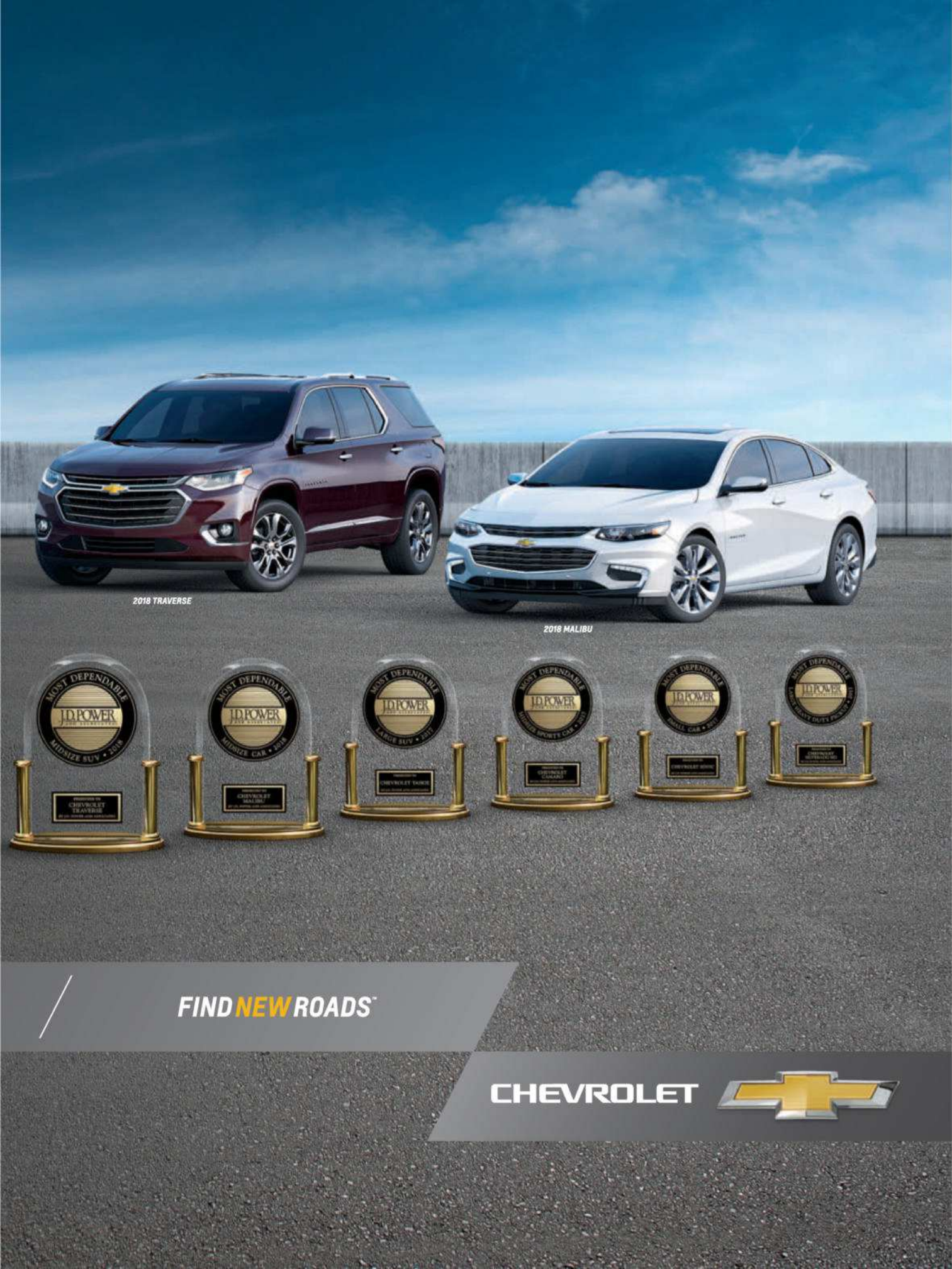
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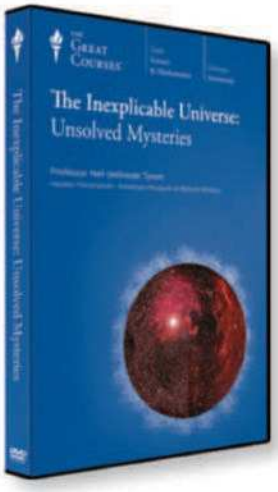

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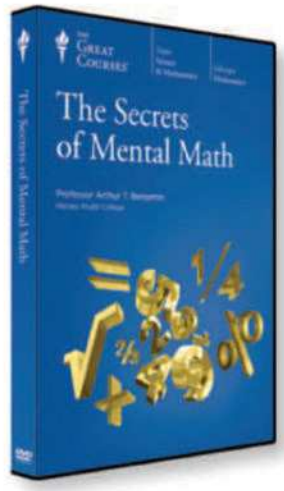

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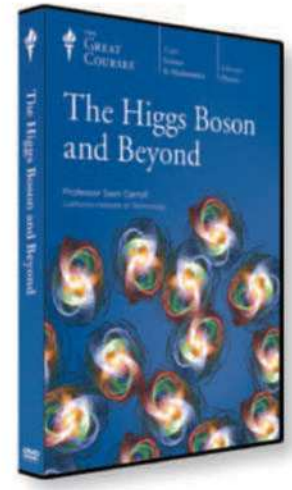

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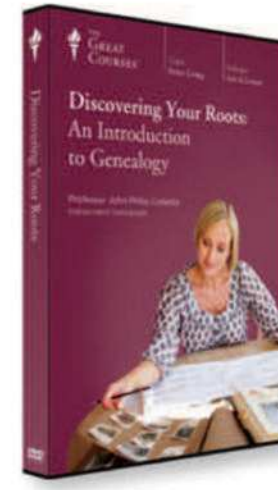

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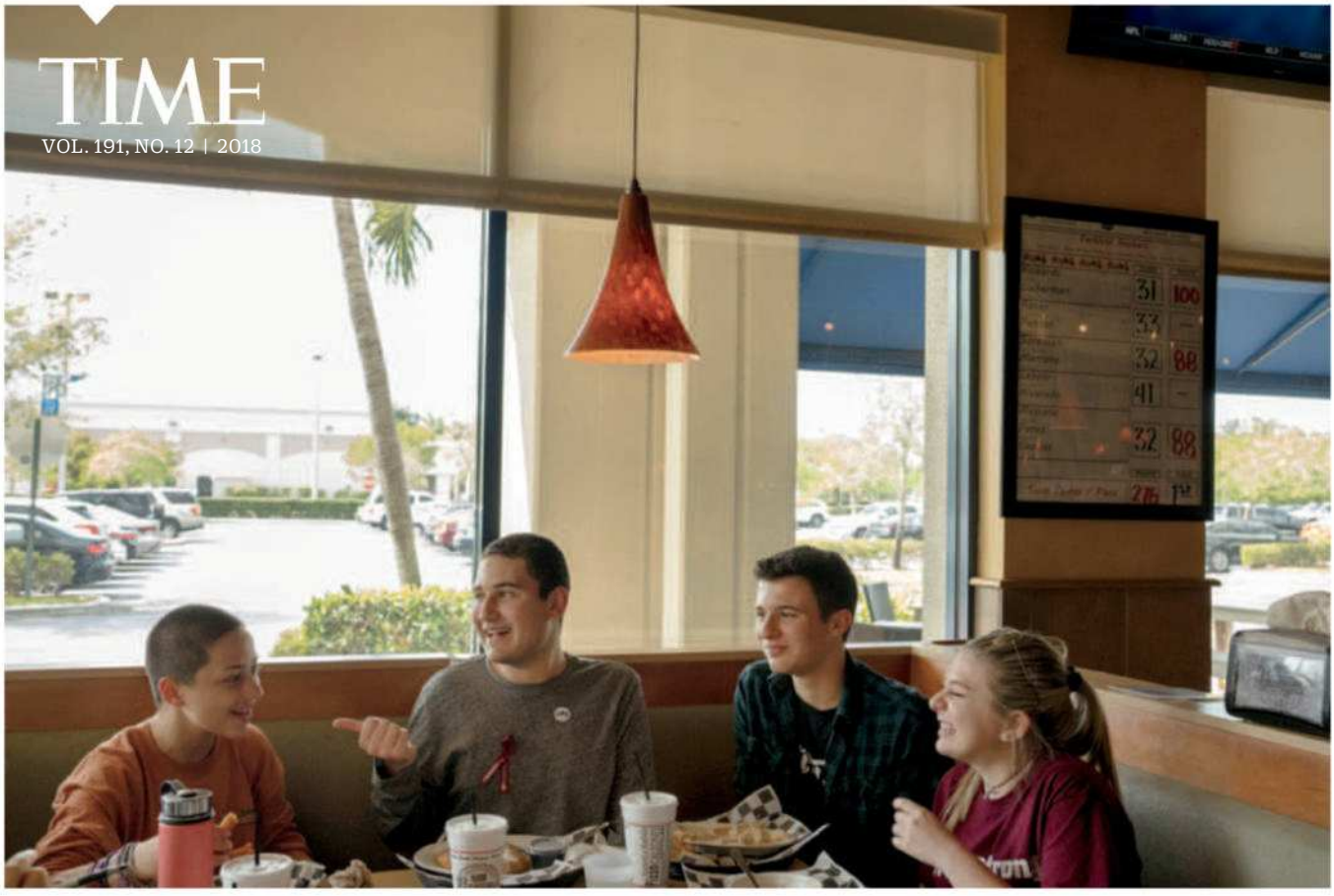

4 | From the Editor
6 | For the Record

The Brief

News from the U.S. and around the world

7 | No staffer is safe in Season 2 of the **Trump presidency**

12 | San Francisco museum tries **"photo-free" hours**

13 | Physicist Lisa Randall remembers **Stephen Hawking**

14 | TIME with … pioneering Deloitte CEO **Cathy Engelbert**

16 | The latest **war front** in Syria

The View

Ideas, opinion, innovations

19 | Lessons from the latest **Facebook controversy** on protecting people's data

23 | New Orleans Mayor Mitch Landrieu on the **Confederate statue** controversy

Features

Gun Fight
Inside the new student movement to finally stop the shootings
By Charlotte Alter **24**

Plus: Excerpts from Parkland, Fla., student diaries **26**

Six commonsense ways to reduce gun violence **32**

Making Russia Great Again
Vladimir Putin is already looking beyond his fourth term
By Mikhail Zygar **36**

Russia has a powerful President—but not a whole lot else
By Ian Bremmer **41**

The Fox Newsman
How Shepard Smith became cable news' Trump-era truth teller
By Daniel D'Addario **42**

Time Off

What to watch, read, see and do

51 | As ***Roseanne*** reboots, so does the family sitcom

53 | Quick Talk with actor **Bill Hader**

53 | The **Getty kidnapping** gets a series in FX's *Trust*

54 | On the big screen: Wes Anderson's ***Isle of Dogs,*** Steven Soderbergh's ***Unsane*** and Steven S. DeKnight's ***Pacific Rim Uprising***

56 | 8 Questions for **Sean Penn**

#NeverAgain student leaders (from left) Emma González, Alex Wind, Cameron Kasky and Jaclyn Corin at Pasquale's in Coral Springs, Fla., on March 6

Photograph by Gabriella Demczuk for TIME

ON THE COVER: *Photograph by Peter Hapak for TIME*

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Peter Hapak, right, photographs March for Our Lives organizers for our cover at a hotel in Coral Springs, Fla., on March 8

Student Teachers

"THIS GENERATION OF STUDENTS HAS an instinct for humanity that may help redress what many of their elders concede is an imbalance in American life." So TIME wrote in a cover story 50 years ago profiling young leaders from the class of 1968. "The year of student power," we called it then, in a phrase that might just as well apply to this week's story about the students in Parkland, Fla., whose justifiable anger and grit have jolted the dormant gun debate from its sleep.

In a matter of five weeks, the young voices of Marjory Stoneman Douglas High School have changed minds and even laws. Florida, Rhode Island and Oregon tightened gun restrictions. Giant retailers stopped selling assault-style weapons. Longtime corporate partners ended relationships with the National Rifle Association. And hundreds of thousands of people are expected to flood the streets on March 24 for March for Our Lives, an event conceived and organized by kids. As my own children's head of school put it in a letter to shaken parents, "We are all going to school at Stoneman Douglas."

America's gun-violence epidemic is complex, and won't be solved quickly. Clearly the Second Amendment doesn't require that a gun be easier to obtain than a driver's license; the Constitution's drafters feared tyranny, but they also feared chaos. And yet reform efforts are doomed if safe and responsible gun owners (I come from a family of them myself) are shut out of the discussion.

One of history's rhymes is that social change begins with the young; another is that change will be imperfect. "Partial victory" is how Brian Weiss, the student featured on that 1968 cover *(right)*, now describes his generation's efforts. But in the face of unremitting gun violence in the most developed country on earth—more than 90% of the people under 25 killed by firearms in all high-income countries are from the U.S.—inaction is inexcusable.

Young people know this instinctively. TIME national correspondent Charlotte Alter, who reported and wrote this week's cover story, says it well: "This story isn't just about guns. This story is about kids." And, I would add, about hope.

Edward Felsenthal,
EDITOR-IN-CHIEF
@EFELSENTHAL

Back in TIME

Cynical idealists
June 7, 1968

That's how TIME described Brian Weiss *(pictured)*, editor of UCLA's *Daily Bruin* newspaper, and other '68 grads who were then leading the antiwar movement. "With the optimism of youth, we thought we would change everything. Clearly we have not been successful at stopping all wars," the now 71-year-old writer told TIME during a call from Pasadena, Calif. "Our gift to the next generation was a degree of awareness—awareness of the need for involvement. We cannot simply stand by and think everything will take care of itself." Read the original story at **time.com/vault**

TIME FOR KIDS The March 16 issue of TIME for Kids acknowledges that activism by high school students is being watched closely by their younger peers. The issue features a special report, for elementary- and middle-school students, on the Parkland, Fla., shooting and the resulting student movement. See more at **timeforkids.com**

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For the Record

‘If we don’t get tough on the drug dealers, we are wasting our time ... That toughness includes the death penalty.’

DONALD TRUMP,
U.S. President, calling for harsher sentences for opioid dealers in a speech in New Hampshire, one of the states hardest hit by the opioid epidemic

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Fine faced by a French baker who kept his shop open every day in defiance of a law that requires bakeries to close for at least one day of rest each week

‘I’ve seen no evidence of collusion, but to stop the investigation without cause, I think, would be a constitutional crisis.’

LINDSEY GRAHAM,
Republican U.S. Senator from South Carolina, arguing that it might be an impeachable offense if President Trump fired special counsel Robert Mueller in the midst of the investigation into Russian interference in the 2016 presidential election

‘WE ARE ALL HUMAN BEINGS AND THERE IS NO DIFFERENCE.’

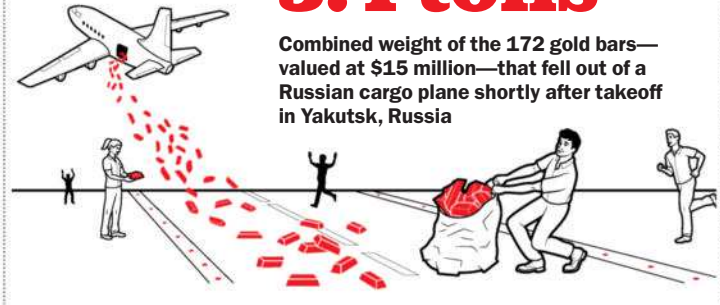
MOHAMMED BIN SALMAN,
Crown Prince of Saudi Arabia, when asked whether women are equal to men during an interview on CBS’s *60 Minutes*

‘They cried right there in aisle 23.’

MAGGIE GREMMINGER,
30, who sat behind the owner of a French bulldog that died on United Flight 1284 on March 12 after a flight attendant put it in the overhead compartment. United apologized, and said it will now issue brightly colored tags for pet carriers; after two other incidents involving dogs ending up at the wrong destination, the airline is also suspending reservations for pets traveling in cargo

3.4 tons

Combined weight of the 172 gold bars—valued at $15 million—that fell out of a Russian cargo plane shortly after takeoff in Yakutsk, Russia



‘I’ll be wearing it at breakfast.’

RINGO STARR,
Beatles drummer, on the medal he received when Prince William knighted him

60%

Percentage of plants in the world’s richest forests that are at risk of extinction in the next century unless stronger measures to combat climate change are implemented, according to a landmark study published in the journal *Climate Change*

GENES
NASA had to clear up confusion over a study on changes to astronaut Scott Kelly’s DNA

JEANS
The brand Mother keeps selling out of denim pants popularized by Meghan Markle

ILLUSTRATIONS BY BROWN BIRD DESIGN FOR TIME

SOURCES: BBC; CNN; HUGHHEWITT.COM; NEW YORK TIMES

The Brief

ON EDGE
President Trump has the White House, and the world, wondering what he'll do next

INSIDE

WHAT TO KNOW ABOUT THE KILLING OF A BRAZILIAN POLITICIAN THAT SPURRED A GLOBAL CALL FOR JUSTICE

POSTCARD FROM CALIFORNIA: THE MUSEUM EXPERIMENTING WITH "PHOTO FREE" HOURS

PHYSICIST LISA RANDALL REMEMBERS STEPHEN HAWKING AND HIS CONTRIBUTIONS TO SCIENCE

POLITICS

Trump recasts for risky 'Season 2'

By Philip Elliott

IT WAS EARLY MARCH, AND PRESIDENT DONALD Trump had a dramatic plan: impose a new round of import tariffs on America's largest trading partner, China. But in meeting after meeting, his aides warned just how costly the move could be. It would hurt U.S. workers and slice into the stock market, they said. It didn't have the backing of fellow Republicans. It would be bad politics for a party facing tough odds in November's elections. They reminded him that the global aluminum and steel tariffs he imposed earlier in the month had led European allies to prepare retaliatory moves and had prompted the White House's chief economic adviser to resign. Who knew what unintended consequences this new plan might unleash?

The President nodded along, now and then mumbling an O.K., and the White House aides thought they had prevailed. But in the middle of the month, they were summoned to hear from the President again: he wanted $30 billion in tariffs on Chinese products. Hours later, the staffers read that Trump had doubled the figure to $60 billion.

The mix of high-impact policy moves and high-profile personnel changes is taking its toll

Welcome to Season 2 of the Trump Show, to borrow a phrase from one of his veteran aides. Fed up with experts and advisers and increasingly comfortable in the job, Trump is determined to do things his way. "The President feels he's got this now," says one White House official, who does not share his confidence.

The impact of an emboldened Trump goes well beyond a possible trade war. On March 13, Trump fired Secretary of State Rex Tillerson with a tweet, replacing him with hard-line CIA chief Mike Pompeo. Three days later, his goading helped drive Attorney General Jeff Sessions to fire FBI deputy director Andrew McCabe, who previously oversaw the bureau's investigations into the Trump campaign's ties to Russia. Trump's subsequent tweets attacking Robert Mueller by name for the first time raised fears the President might fire the special counsel and trigger a constitutional crisis.

Inside the White House, the mix of high-impact policy moves and high-profile personnel changes is taking its toll. Conversations with more than two dozen current and former Administration officials during the past month reveal a White House in the grip of anxiety as staffers fear the next email or phone call could bring word they're being fired too. Some have taken to asking reporters about rumored staff changes, suspecting journalists will know before those running the government. More worrying: Trump's own aides fear the fallout for the country and the world that may result as he tests the limits of the power of the presidency.

THE DEPARTED: CASUALTIES OF THE PRESIDENT'S SHAKE-UPS

HOPE HICKS > RESIGNED

REX TILLERSON > FIRED

TRUMP HAS ALWAYS PREFERRED a chaotic workplace. But his confidence in the Oval Office is new. When he won the White House—back when no one in his orbit had pleaded guilty, Mueller was at a white-shoe law firm and liberals still blamed then-FBI Director James Comey for Hillary Clinton's loss—Trump decided he needed some experience around him. He had been a successful businessman, but as the head of a privately held real estate empire, he'd never suffered a board of directors or oversight of stockholders. Moreover, he knew he was the first Commander in Chief not to have previously served in government or the military. So Trump hired a flight of experienced Washington hands to help guide him. They were the guardrails of his presidency.

And Trump hated it. These men—and they were largely men—told him, often in charts and pictures, why his preferred actions were dangerous. Sometimes they were right. But in recent weeks, Trump has focused more on decisions where their dire predictions haven't come true, aides say. They told him that moving the

GARY COHN > RESIGNED

ANDREW MCCABE > FIRED

U.S. embassy in Israel from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem would cause lasting chaos in the Middle East. (It did not.) They warned him that tariffs on steel and aluminum would spark a trade war with Europe. (It wasn't as bad as they had feared.) They warned that a debt-heavy tax-cut package would spook investors. (Wall Street is booming, although investors are warning clients that a reckoning is coming.) These advisers—"the so-called experts," Trump mockingly labeled them—had all been proven wrong, he said. Why, he wondered aloud, was he listening to them?

And over time, the guardrails gave way. Trump ditched some of the staffers. Gone was the first chief of staff, Reince Priebus, along with several of his deputies. Tillerson was his boldest firing yet. Others were forced out by scandal or by Trump's order-seeking chief of staff, retired Marine General John Kelly. Rob Porter, the White House staff secretary—the Administration's traffic cop for top-secret and other files—was pushed out when the public learned he had been accused of abusing his ex-wives. The President's personal aide, once a YouTube viral video star with a knack for trick throws of footballs and a reported penchant for online gambling, was sent packing soon after, but he landed a new gig at the Trump 2020 campaign.

Then there is the departure of Hope Hicks, Trump's top media strategist, who was tired of working in a windowless closet within shouting distance of the Oval Office. As much as anyone, she had been able to influence the President, and White House officials worried that her departure could leave Trump unmoored. Top economic adviser Gary Cohn resigned after losing an internal fight over metals tariffs. On March 19, the President roiled his legal team, adding well-known Washington lawyer Joseph diGenova, who had accused the FBI and Justice Department of conspiring against the President.

TO HEAR Administration officials tell it, the exodus is only beginning. Lieutenants to Kelly and National Security Adviser H.R. McMaster, two of the most experienced remaining advisers, expect their bosses to depart shortly. That would leave Trump alone at center stage. More confident in his ability to run a country, Trump wants to surround himself with people he likes, say aides. That increasingly means people he likes on television. To fill Cohn's spot, Trump hired Larry Kudlow, a onetime junior aide to President Ronald Reagan and a regular on CNBC, as his top economic adviser. He promoted the Columbia-educated former *Fox and Friends* anchor Heather Nauert to the top public diplomacy post at the State Department. Trump is eyeing another Fox contributor, Pete Hegseth, to take over the troubled Department of Veterans Affairs.

No staff change could have a greater impact than the removal of Mueller, but Trump has shown he is increasingly frustrated by the special counsel's probe, which has reportedly delved into the President's business records. "If you had been attacked mercilessly and continuously," press secretary Sarah Huckabee Sanders explained March 20, describing her boss's mood, "and literally, every day you wake up to an onslaught of people saying that you're there because of reasons that are completely false, that's frustrating." Even Trump's most loyal pals worry he will respond to that perceived attack by firing Mueller. "That would be the beginning of the end," predicted Republican Senator Lindsey Graham of South Carolina, a golf partner to the President. "That would be the stupidest thing the President could do," added GOP Senator Orrin Hatch of Utah, a reliable ally.

Maybe Trump's increasing theatrics don't matter. Maybe he can thrash about the White House—offending his nominal friends, enraging America's allies and spooking the financial markets—without doing much lasting damage. Trump's supporters point to steadying forces around him, like Defense Secretary Jim Mattis and first daughter Ivanka Trump. But these same voices previously cited Tillerson and Cohn in the same role. Now both have departed, and Kelly and McMaster might not be far behind. "It's no secret the President is not a patient man. Now, he's really out of patience and will be doing things his way," says one Republican on Capitol Hill. "The President tried it their way and didn't like what he was seeing." What comes next will make for edge-of-your-seat viewing. But it brings real risks. ◻

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Crowds react as the coffin of fast-rising politician Marielle Franco is carried by in Rio de Janeiro

DADO GALDIERI—BLOOMBERG/GETTY IMAGES

THE BULLETIN

The assassination of a popular Brazilian politician has turned her into an icon

ON THE NIGHT OF MARCH 14, RIO DE Janeiro councilwoman Marielle Franco and her driver Anderson Pedro Gomes were shot and killed in her car after leaving a black-women's empowerment event. The killing of the human-rights activist mobilized tens of thousands of Brazilians to demand justice and sparked tributes from around the world.

A RISING POLITICAL STAR Born and raised in the Maré favela, one of Rio's most dangerous slums, 38-year-old Franco was a fierce advocate for the marginalized—including Afro-Brazilians, the poor, the LGBTQ community and women—and a critic of President Michel Temer's federal intervention in the city. As a black, lesbian single mother, she was a minority several times over in Brazilian politics and the only black woman on Rio's 51-member city council, having received the fifth most votes in the election that won her the seat.

A black, lesbian single mother, she was a minority several times over

FROM MOURNING TO REVOLT Tens of thousands of people have protested Franco's death in cities across the country, as well as in New York City, Paris, Berlin and elsewhere. Her name was mentioned in more than 3 million tweets in 54 countries over the two days following her death, often with the hashtags #MariellePresente (Marielle Is Here) and #SayHerName, the latter borrowed from Black Lives Matter activists. Some demonstrators have also used her death as a rallying cry to call for an end to systemic racism in Brazil.

WHAT HAPPENS NEXT Some activists believe Franco was killed for speaking out against abuses of military and police power in Brazil, and human-rights observers have criticized what they call a culture of impunity in Brazilian law enforcement. The protests, led largely by young Brazilians, have highlighted their demands for legitimate leadership and their broader dissatisfaction with the nation's political system. As the police continue their investigation into the apparent hit, many of Franco's followers are looking to the October elections as an opportunity to continue her struggle.

—SUYIN HAYNES

TICKER

Male birth-control pill shows promise

The latest attempt at a **male birth-control pill appears to be safe,** researchers said on March 18. The new drug reduced testosterone and other hormones needed to produce sperm and had no major side effects. Now scientists need to do a longer study to see if the hormonal changes actually block sperm production.

Austin bombing suspect blows himself up

A suspect in a series of bombings that terrorized Austin died on March 21 when he detonated an explosive device in his vehicle as police closed in. Authorities believe he was responsible for **at least six bombs** that killed two people and injured several others. After the suspect's death, police were left looking for a motive for the bombs, most of which were parcels.

French police hold ex-President

Former French President Nicolas Sarkozy was taken into police custody for questioning over allegations he received **more than $60 million in campaign funding** from the late Libyan dictator Muammar Gaddafi in 2007. Sarkozy has repeatedly denied the allegations.

TICKER

First pedestrian killed by self-driving car

A self-driving Uber car **hit and killed a woman in Tempe, Ariz.,** on March 18, causing the company to suspend its autonomous car testing there as well as in San Francisco, Pittsburgh and Toronto. The incident is being called the first pedestrian fatality involving self-driving technology.

Climate change could displace 143 million people

Climate change could lead to the displacement of as many as 143 million people by 2050, according to the World Bank. **Mass movement of people in sub-Saharan Africa, South Asia and Latin America** is likely to create "hot spots" with tens of millions of people moving into crowded slums, putting pressure on national and local governments.

Toys "R" Us says goodbye

Retailer Toys "R" Us said on March 15 that it will **close or sell all of its more than 800 stores** across the U.S. The liquidation comes after the iconic toy-store chain filed for bankruptcy last September and suffered through a dismal holiday season. More than 30,000 jobs are at risk as Toys "R" Us winds down.

POSTCARD

A San Francisco museum tackles art's Instagram dilemma

A WOMAN CLUTCHED HER PHONE TO HER heart the way a missionary might hold a Bible. She was anxious to take a picture of a stunning bouquet of flowers that sat not 10 ft. away, but first she had to get through a crowd of others jostling to do the same. The cause of this recent frenzy was Bouquets to Art, one of the most popular annual events at the de Young Museum in San Francisco. For the 34th year, florists were asked to create bouquets that respond to pieces of art on display, from ancient carvings to contemporary sculptures. A tower of baby's breath imitates a frothy waterfall in a nearby painting by Gustav Grunewald. Red flamingo flowers and neon blue sticks echo a surreal portrait of a woman by Salvador Dalí. It's entrancing and also extremely Instagrammable, to the point that it has become a problem.

In recent years, the de Young received more than a thousand complaints from people who felt that cell phones had tainted their experience of the exhibit. Institutions of fine art around the world face similar problems as the desire to take photographs becomes a huge draw for museums as well as something that upsets some of their patrons. So the de Young responded with a kind of compromise: carving out "photo free" hours during the exhibition's six-day run (which is short because of flowers' perishable nature).

One common complaint in the ongoing debates over the effect of social media on museum culture is that people seem to be missing out on experiences because they are so busy collecting evidence of them. An oft-cited study published in the journal *Psychological Science* suggests there is some truth to this; it found that people who took photos of an exhibit rather than simply observing it had a harder time remembering what they saw. But the issue is complicated for the professionals running museums. Linda Butler, the de Young's head of marketing, communications and visitor experience, acknowledges that not everyone wants a museum to be "a selfie playland." Yet a lot of other people do, and her take is that the de Young is in no position to assert that one motivation for buying a $28 ticket is more valid than another. "If we removed social media and photography," she says, "we would risk becoming irrelevant."

If this is a battle, signs indicate that the pro-phone crowd has already won. On this visit to the museum, most people seemed to treat the photo bonanza as the new normal. Many politely waited their turn and got out of other people's shots, even as visitors bumped into each other in cramped galleries. Morgan Holzer, a millennial who was surprised by the furor, said that as she approached bouquets to read their labels, she found herself holding up the process. But rather than expressing frustration about this awkwardness, she said she felt guilty, as if she were the one defying convention. "I felt bad blocking everyone's photo," she said. —KATY STEINMETZ

FOOD

Stomach upsets

Canada took top prize in the Camembert category at the World Championship Cheese Contest 2018, a shock to France. Here, other surprising food and drink victories. —*Kate Samuelson*

PIZZA
Chef Johnny Di Francesco, who runs a restaurant in Melbourne, made headlines when his Neapolitan pizza was crowned the world's top margherita during the 2014 Pizza World Championship.

WHISKEY
Scottish distilleries had to drown their sorrows when a single malt from Japan's oldest distillery was named the world's best whiskey by the 2015 Whisky Bible, which awarded it 97.5 marks out of 100.

VODKA
Chase Vodka, made from potatoes grown and fermented on a spud farm in Herefordshire, England, triumphed in the 2010 San Francisco World Spirits Competition, beating Russian and Polish vodka brands.

DIED
Representative Louise Slaughter, the oldest member of Congress, on March 16 at 88. The New York Representative had been the first woman to chair the House Rules Committee.

BLOCKED
A Mississippi law that would ban almost all **abortions after 15 weeks** of pregnancy, by a federal judge. If the law is implemented, it will be the most restrictive abortion regulation in the U.S.

EUTHANIZED
The world's **last male northern white rhino,** Sudan, to end his suffering from age-related disease. The death of the 45-year-old rhinoceros leaves his species on the brink of extinction.

DECLARED
The candidacy of **Cynthia Nixon,** best known for playing Miranda on *Sex and the City,* for governor of New York. She will challenge Governor Andrew Cuomo in a Democratic primary in September.

DENIED
A motion to dismiss a defamation suit from Summer Zervos, **who says President Trump sexually harassed her.** The case can now move forward.

DEFEATED
The University of Virginia's men's basketball team, by the **University of Maryland, Baltimore County.** It was the first time in NCAA men's tournament history that a No. 16–seeded team beat a No. 1 seed. UMBC lost in the next round.

Hawking at Cambridge University on Aug. 16, 2010

DIED

Stephen Hawking
Master of the universe

By Lisa Randall

FOR YEARS, IT SEEMED THAT THE BEST WAY TO ESTABLISH my place in the physics world with people outside of it was to talk about the time Stephen Hawking, who died on March 14 at 76, saved me a seat at a conference. In our incredible, challenging-to-explain universe, it was perhaps inevitable that it was an incredible, challenging-to-explain person who made it more comprehensible—both to the scientific community and to the public.

A functioning brain coupled with what little of his body held off ALS was enough for him to have a life far more active than that of most able-bodied individuals and a life of the mind that exceeded others' by many multiples. His contribution to our understanding—particularly of black holes—laid bare mysteries that 40 years later are still daunting. If most people can't begin to answer the questions he raised, he helped everyone at least approach them. Science is not part of a separate world; it is available for anyone to participate, and Hawking's life should be an inspiration not to turn away from its challenges. With his many accomplishments, he certainly laid down the gauntlet.

Randall, a TIME 100 honoree, is the Frank B. Baird Jr. Professor of Science at Harvard University and the author of *Dark Matter and the Dinosaurs*

DIED

Hubert de Givenchy
Iconic designer

DECADES AFTER ITS 1961 release, the opening scene of *Breakfast at Tiffany's* remains one of fashion's most recognizable moments on the silver screen. Audrey Hepburn, coffee and Danish in hand, drifts down Manhattan's Fifth Avenue wearing the ultimate little black dress—a sleek, streamlined column gown designed by Hubert de Givenchy, the couturier who died on March 10 at 91.

The French aristocrat turned fashion designer changed the way the world saw Parisian chic, with his simple yet refined designs that spoke not only to the power of a woman's femininity, but also to the demands of her real life. By introducing separates—pieces that the wearer could mix and match at her fancy—in his breakout collection in 1952 and becoming the first designer to debut luxury ready-to-wear, in 1954, Givenchy demonstrated an understanding of the modern woman's sartorial needs that was light-years ahead of his time. Further proof of his foresight? He channeled his 40-year friendship and professional collaboration with muse Hepburn into what many might consider fashion's first celebrity endorsement. —CADY LANG

Givenchy, left, at work with Hepburn, center, in his Paris workshop

CHEESE: GITUSIK—ISTOCKPHOTO/GETTY IMAGES; HAWKING: MUIR VIDLER—(13 PHOTO)/REDUX; GIVENCHY: SUNSET BOULEVARD/CORBIS/GETTY IMAGES

Deloitte CEO **Cathy Engelbert** is the first female chief of a Big Four financial-services firm

By Belinda Luscombe

GROWING UP AS ONE OF EIGHT SIBLINGS IN THE southern part of New Jersey, or South Jersey as it's known to all who live there, has its disadvantages. Cathy Engelbert had to share a room with her messier younger sister Peggy. There were occasional fistfights, which Cathy usually lost. Both her parents had jobs outside the home, and sometimes her dad took extra work on weekends and evenings, either for more cash or for less chaos. But in elementary school, when Engelbert ran for class president, one advantage of having a big clan became apparent.

"She wanted to win so bad, and she was going up against the most popular boy in the class, so she came up with this campaign slogan, 'Have a taffy, vote for Cathy,'" recalls Peggy, a nurse. "We run to the store and buy bags of Charms Pops and Tootsie Pops, and we tape the slogan to all of them." Then four of her five brothers—Kurt, Kenny, Kevin and Keith (Kyle came later)—Peggy and oldest sister Beth gave out the candy around the school. Engelbert won in a landslide.

It's interesting that the perpetrator of so flagrant a vote-buying scheme would be such a success in the audit business. The shyly confident, quietly competitive Engelbert, 53, is now CEO of Deloitte U.S. Like class presidents, Deloitte CEOs are elected, and like U.S. Presidents, they serve four years with the option of another four. Engelbert became the first female CEO of a Big Four financial-services firm in 2015 and will soon stand for her second term. If she wins, she will be the first two-term CEO since 1999.

At a time when fewer than one in 10 companies on the *Fortune* 500 has a female CEO, Engelbert exercises a particular brand of soft power, given that she runs the company that helps run 400 of those 500 businesses. (KPMG, another of the Big Four, also has a female CEO.) More than 60% of her employees are millennials, the majority of whom, having been trained by Deloitte, will leave to work elsewhere. She is responsible for forming tomorrow's corporate leaders in an era when traditional models of political leadership are in flux—when, as she says, "we're walking on business eggshells, because every morning you wake up and you kind of cringe when you go to look at your breaking news."

Engelbert is also at the helm at a tricky time for financial-services firms. While they are known for audit and tax services, most of the growth in recent years has been in management consulting, the much sexier and more lucrative end of the business. (Deloitte advises Meredith Corporation, the owner of this magazine.) Instead of parachuting in to solve a particular problem, consultants now need to be able to effect a corporate metamorphosis for a whole new environment, one constantly being remade by digital technology. "Companies used to buy point solutions from us," says Engelbert. "Now they want to buy end-to-end transformation."

Deloitte hires 18,000 people in the U.S. every year. It has to predict who will be useful to businesses in the future. "Now 65% of IT spending is in the cloud," says Engelbert by way of example. "That requires hiring different people than we hired before. We need more data scientists."

But it's not just expertise that she has to build; it's culture. "Every day I wake up and say there are 88,000 people going out to clients today," says Engelbert. "You have to build the right culture into them." These issues are not Deloitte-specific. She believes the concepts of an employee and a workplace are changing rapidly. "Jobs are being disconnected from work," she says. "Work has a whole new definition. There's the gig economy, the open talent network. So how do you build culture when you can't build it in your four walls?"

Engelbert has made a big bet on technology, forming partnerships with Amazon Web Services—to combine Deloitte's business savvy with Amazon's tech agility—among others and developing a cadre of Apple-specific advisers, experts in shifting businesses to mobile using the iOS platform. She has also doubled down on work-life balance, insisting, against the advice of her spreadsheet wielders, that all employees be offered 16 weeks of paid leave for any family emergency. "I'm not a big rattler, but I rattled some people," she says. "I said we're just going to do it."

AS FAR AS work-life strategy goes, Engelbert has a black belt in scheduling. The day before our meeting, she was in Washington at a business roundtable. Two days before that, she was in Dallas. The previous week, Madrid and Singapore. Because she travels so much, she prioritizes family, including her two children, when she can. She coached her daughter's middle-school lacrosse team. Even as CEO, she made it to most of her daughter's high school games. She has promised her teenage son (her daughter's now at college) that, after our conversation, a client lunch and several internal meetings, she will be home in northern New Jersey by 5 p.m. to watch an NCAA game with him. At about noon, her assistant gets antsy. Apparently I'm eating into Engelbert's time for SMOR—"small moments of reflection," the 10-minute microbreaks she schedules between one meeting and the next.

ENGELBERT QUICK FACTS

The abstainer
Engelbert drinks no soda or coffee and only the occasional beer or wine. She has also sworn off buying new clothes for the first six months of this year.

Wildcat litter
Much of her family either attended or worked at Villanova University. (She went to Lehigh.)

Working mom
Her mother recently retired at 81, after 61 years as the office manager for a pediatrician.

How did Engelbert win the approval, trust and votes of a business-minded group of individuals when so many other women struggle? In short, whether by nature or design, she does not appear threatening. Her conversational style is friendly and unpretentious. She makes no jokes. Like many CEOs, she's a competent but unexciting public speaker: at a recent commencement at Duke, she gave advice that started with the letters *D U K E,* while at a Villanova talk her tips began with *N O V A*. Her office in Manhattan's 30 Rockefeller Center, a mere 33 floors and 17 personality types away from the *Saturday Night Live* set, is decorated in soft hues. The imposing view of the Empire State Building is offset by many family photos.

Her only mild gesture of dominance is that despite being 5 ft. 10 in.—she was a walk-on basketball player at Lehigh University and captained a team that won the Eastern Conference title—she wears high heels, so she towers over most visitors.

Engelbert sources some of her success to two lucky breaks. The first was that as a young consultant, she was sent to find out about this new financial instrument, derivatives. Her early expertise catapulted her into a different league. "It gave me a platform to meet with treasurers and CFOs across America, and it was my first taste of leadership," she says. It didn't hurt that having grown up with five brothers, attended a mostly male college and married a former Army helicopter pilot—the kind of guy who drinks $100 wine out of a red Solo cup—she was not deterred by the behavior of the bros who worked in the capital-markets team.

'I'm not a big rattler, but I rattled some people … I said we're just going to do it.'

ENGELBERT, on offering 16 weeks of paid family leave

The second grew out of what she calls "personal selfishness." While pregnant, she was assigned to a client in St. Louis. She asked for a larger client, who happened to be located two miles from her home. Her bosses agreed but warned her that the proprietor was not a fan of female consultants. "He didn't think I could do the job," she says. "But I thought, I'm going to take this as a challenge and turn him. By the end of my five years there, he was like, 'She's the best partner I've ever worked with.'" This helped cement her reputation for being as good with clients as she was with numbers.

None of Engelbert's success comes as a shock to her family, which has seen her fly in from Davos, give a speech for her mom's retirement party and then get home in time for her son's baseball tryout. "We always knew she was going places," says Peggy. "Now whenever she achieves something, I just shrug and say, 'Have a taffy, vote for Cathy.'" □

CHRISTA NEU—LEHIGH UNIVERSITY

The Fall of Afrin

Civilians in a truck flee Afrin, a predominantly Kurdish city in northern Syria, on March 18, the day it fell to militias backed by Turkey. The city was both the latest front in Syria's eight-year war and a showcase for the tortured politics that are driving the conflict. Afrin had been held by Kurdish militias allied with the U.S., but after that alliance sidelined ISIS, neighboring Turkey stepped up to assert itself. Deeply mistrustful of Kurds, who make up Turkey's largest ethnic minority, Ankara has been taking Syrian territory near its border. But when the militias that Turkey backs took Afrin, the fighters embarrassed their sponsor by looting stores and stealing tractors and goats.

Photograph by Bulent Kilic—AFP/Getty Images

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The View

SOCIAL MEDIA

Users can hold Facebook accountable

By Lisa Eadicicco

It is not easy to protect 1.4 billion people every day. But if Facebook wants to be the home where all those people share their likes and heartbreaks and plans and politics with acquaintances online, it had better try a lot harder.

INSIDE

THE MAYOR OF NEW ORLEANS WRITES ABOUT REMEDIES TO RACISM IN THE SOUTH

A COMPILATION OF ESSAYS, OP-EDS AND INSIGHTS ON TIME.COM—ON SUBJECTS RANGING FROM THE MILITARY TO MANDELA

That was the thrust of the news on March 17, when the *Observer* of London and the New York *Times* revealed that analytics firm Cambridge Analytica improperly obtained data from 50 million Facebook accounts. The company, which worked with both Senator Ted Cruz and Donald Trump on their 2016 presidential campaigns, then attempted to build psychological profiles of potential voters—with the hopes of using them to determine whom to target.

But in this case, unlike other recent privacy breakdowns—like the Equifax data breach that put 145.5 million accounts at risk—thieves or hackers did not steal information. The company actually just handed the data over, then didn't watch where it went. As Facebook itself reported, Aleksandr Kogan, the academic researcher who first obtained the information through an app he developed, did so "in a legitimate way and through proper channels" and violated Facebook's policies only when he passed it on to Cambridge Analytica. The social network was also under the impression until recently that the harvested data had been deleted, but the *Times* says it has viewed a set of it. Right now, it's not clear who else can see the data.

ALL THIS HAS PROMPTED sharp criticism of the company, which meticulously tracks its users but failed to keep track of where information about the lives and thinking of those people went. Facebook's shares were down by 6.8% in the first business day after the reports. Lawmakers in both the U.S. and Britain, where Cambridge Analytica did similar work ahead of the Brexit referendum, have demanded testimony from Facebook chief Mark Zuckerberg. The U.S. Federal Trade Commission and state attorneys general have reportedly begun investigations. On the site itself, many users mused, Why are we still here? This all comes at a time when the company reported that it had seen a decrease in daily active users in the U.S. and Canada for the first time—from 185 million to 184 million—in the fourth quarter of 2017.

Because Kogan obtained the data through legitimate channels, preventing such a scenario from happening again isn't as simple as patching a bug or boosting Facebook's security infrastructure. A fix would require Facebook to be stricter with its actual customers: developers and advertisers of all kinds, from retailers to political groups, who pay to know what you have revealed about yourself. But it will need to keep a closer eye on who can see what, even if that results in repercussions for its other partners. Facebook invites you to chronicle your life through its platforms, especially your most cherished moments. There is a natural expectation that a space with such precious material will be guarded. As Zuckerberg said in a statement that in part pledged to restrict developers' access to data: "We have a responsibility to protect your data, and if we can't then we don't deserve to serve you."

There's another group in need of urgent introspection: users. In an era in which we tell companies like Facebook, Google and Amazon what groceries we eat, whom we're in touch with and where we're going (at a minimum), users themselves need to actually demand to know to whom their information is being sent and how they will use it, in a way that is readable and accessible. There's no single obvious answer for preventing future data abuse, but one lesson is evident: Facebook needs to be more transparent with its users when their data is being exploited, and users themselves should be much more vigilant about the personal details they're willing to share. "It's clear these platforms can't police themselves," Senator Amy Klobuchar posted to Twitter. (Although even she expressed to *Vice News Tonight* skepticism that lawmakers will change the system ahead of this year's elections, suspecting some will want one last election cycle with these tools in hand.)

Facebook CEO Mark Zuckerberg is facing calls to testify before Congress

Users may not invest in Facebook with cash. Instead, we offer invisible things: our emotions, our interests, our time and, in the end, our trust. As Facebook asks for more and more of us as it expands, from its messenger apps to virtual reality to Instagram, we must ask, Why do we trust what we know so little about? Especially when what we do know is that the site profits off our interests? We need to value our minds and lives as least as much as the advertisers and politicians do. ◻

READING LIST

A selection of stories published on **time.com/ideas**

How the military can ruin one man, then another

Marine Corps veteran Matt Young, author of the recent memoir *Eat the Apple,* reckons with **how his service turned him from a lost boy into a bloodthirsty man**—as he watches his younger brother enlist.

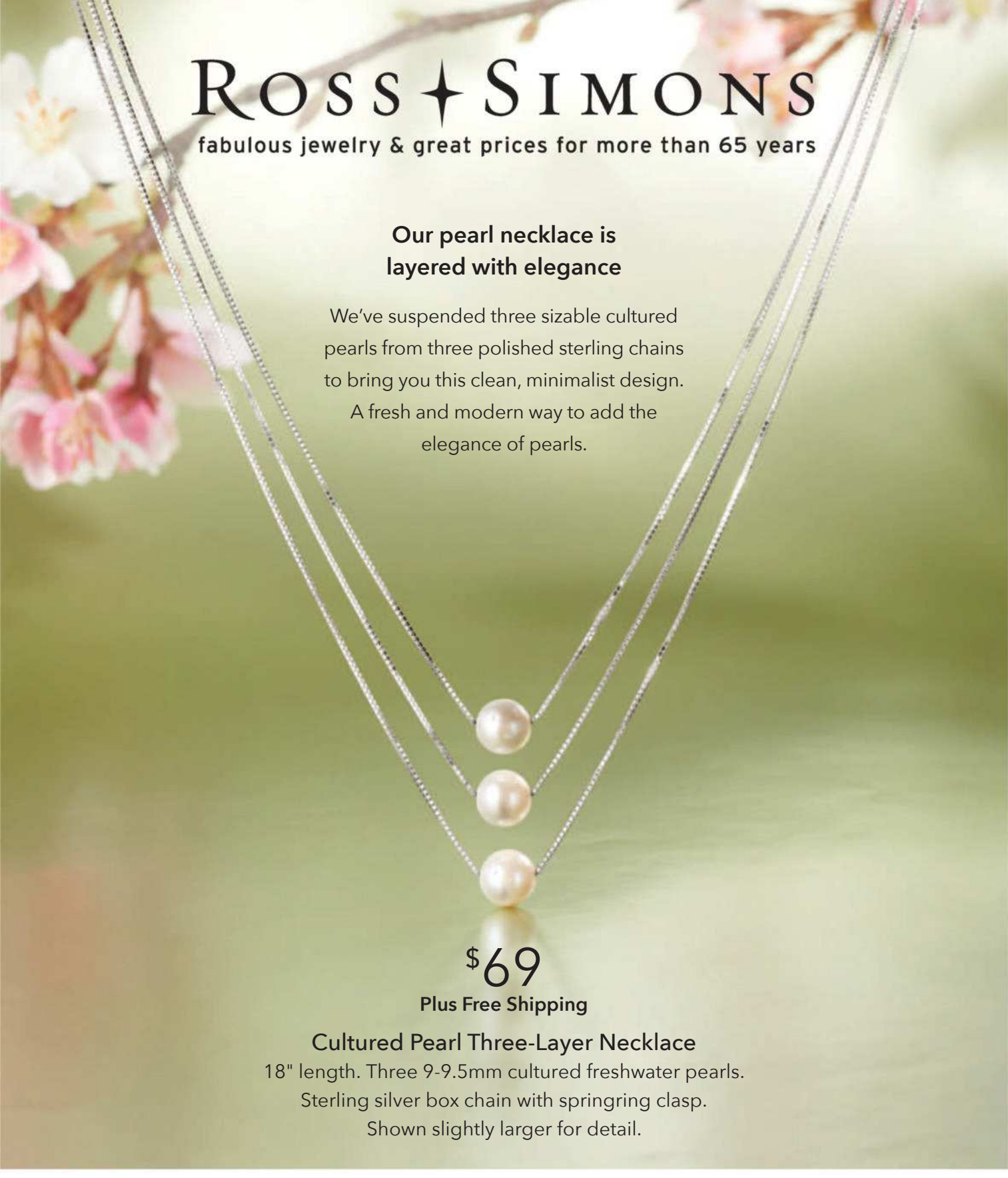
Rectifying a stereotype against black women

In an excerpt from her new book, *Eloquent Rage: A Black Feminist Discovers Her Superpower,* Rutgers University professor Brittney Cooper confronts **a problematic refrain that the root of black women's problems is "low self-esteem,"** an idea her own mother held close when fighting to escape abusive relationships. "Just learn to love yourself, we are told," Cooper writes.

What would Mandela make of Trump?

Former editor of TIME Richard Stengel explores the insights of the late South African, **whose highest compliment for a leader was "measured,"** in the introduction for the rerelease of his book *Mandela's Way.*

ZUCKERBERG: STEPHEN LAM—REUTERS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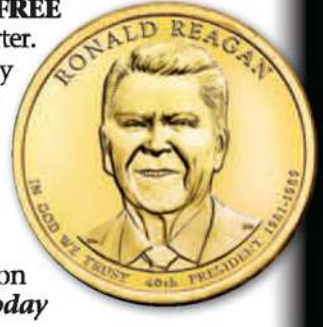

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Repairing the story of race in the South

By Mitch Landrieu

I BELIEVE THAT THE FOUR CONFEDERATE monuments in New Orleans that became a dominating presence in my life for well more than two years never reflected what the true society of New Orleans, generations ago, actually felt when they were built.

The structures reflected what the people who erected them, mostly ex–Confederate soldiers or sympathizers, believed because they had the power to build them and because they wanted to send a particular political message. They cast a dark and repressive shadow over my city and, in a way, held us back. It took most of my lifetime to see this. So I listened to people who had absorbed a different message from those statues than the one I did over the years. A great part of governing is listening to and learning from your people. Once you do learn the truth about the past, you have a responsibility to act, and so I did.

A week before Christmas 2015, the city council voted 6-1 in favor of dismantling the monuments. A Baton Rouge company agreed to service the order once we were out of the legal thicket—the Louisiana Landmarks Society and other groups had filed suit against our plan, citing their members' "recognized interest in the aesthetic and cultural well-being in the city of New Orleans." I assumed the legal appeals would be tossed out. But before we reached that point, the owner of the company and his wife received death threats, which we reported to the FBI, and even though the company ended its agreement with the city, his sports car was set afire in the driveway of his business.

The spread of domestic terrorism has many small stories like this—threats, acts of religious desecration and vandalism that move across the news radar or make a few paragraphs on inside pages of the local press, and no one gets caught, or if so, quite some time later. This is part of the ho-hum racism that eats through our country every day. In other words, we really haven't made it as far as we like to think—we're still mired in a mentality where they could lynch you, destroy your reputation, hurt your business or engage in symbolic lynchings, like a cross burned on your lawn or the car in your driveway torched. When I saw the story on the burned car, I realized we were facing an opposition that went far beyond historic preservationists to a burning fringe of people bent on criminal behavior.

AS TENSION BUILT, a thought kept gnawing at me of how badly we had been taught about the Civil War, how little about slavery or Reconstruction or Jim Crow. Also how the ingrained racial attitudes I encountered in youth and through adulthood in a city with such a wonderful mix of humanity reflected in the music and cuisine, the balls and parades, nevertheless had a cold, dark underside—and it's not just New Orleans. You can drive 50 miles from here and find people in rural towns who feel emotionally invested in our Robert E. Lee statue as an idea of the Civil War—what the South was. Drive a few hundred more miles to the outer edges of the South and you can find white people who think "the South" is misunderstood, that the heritage of their ancestors, or the idea of an honorable war, as taught in schools and passed through family tradition, supersedes why that war was fought.

How else do we explain the blanket of hostility toward black people that shrouds the voting patterns of the white South? Think about the Southern strategy of the Republican Party as fomented by Nixon, carried on by Reagan and now re-enacted with President Donald Trump. Even with large black populations, no Southern state has a voting black majority, and every Southern state is schizophrenically split on voting lines of race, Louisiana high among them. Race is the great dividing wedge used by what was once the party of Lincoln to attract working-class whites and country-club conservatives who share few economic interests but are united against the interests of African Americans.

Here is what I have learned about race: You can't go over it. You can't go under it. You can't go around it. You have to go through it.

When we testify in court, we swear to tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth. This is important, because anything but the whole truth and nothing but the truth will lead us astray. Yet that is the story of American history that most of us know, particularly as it relates to race. To move forward, we must commit to tell the whole truth about our past. To move forward, we must find that new space on race here, a zone of belief that holds promise for a nation committed to justice for all of our people, making right what we have failed to do and insisting that we will do what it takes to reach the next threshold for humankind.

A New Orleans statue of Confederate General Robert E. Lee, unveiled in 1884, is removed on May 18, 2017

For a Q&A with Landrieu, visit **time.com/history**

Landrieu is the mayor of New Orleans and author of In the Shadow of Statues: A White Southerner Confronts History, *from which this essay is adapted*

STATUE: AP/SHUTTERSTOCK

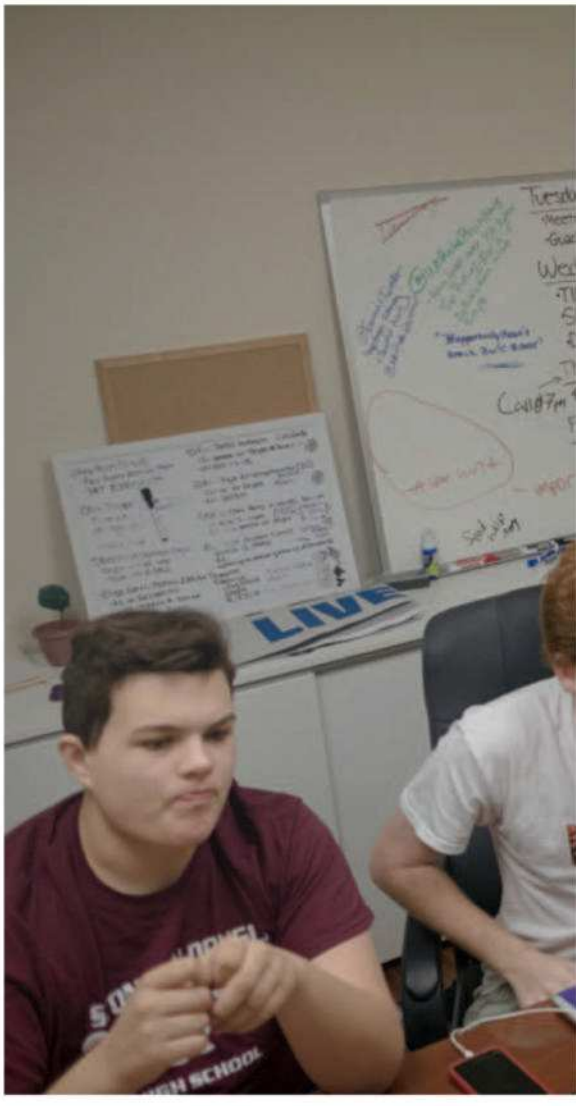
the YOUNG *and the* RELENTLESS

Adults have failed to stop school shootings. Now it's the kids' turn to try

BY CHARLOTTE ALTER/PARKLAND, FLA.
PHOTOGRAPHS BY GABRIELLA DEMCZUK FOR TIME

Emma González, 18

The Marjory Stoneman Douglas High School senior is a leader of the new student movement against gun violence



It's lunchtime on a Tuesday, and the kids are piling into a pizzeria booth in Coral Springs, Fla., to plot a revolution. "The adults know that we're cleaning up their mess,"

says Cameron Kasky, an 11th-grader at Marjory Stoneman Douglas High School, who started the #NeverAgain movement to curb gun violence three weeks earlier in his living room. "It's like they're saying, 'I'm sorry I made this mess,'" adds buzzcut senior Emma González, "while continuing to spill soda on the floor."

Kasky and González are sitting with two more of the movement's leaders, Alex Wind and Jaclyn Corin. Except they're not sitting, exactly. They're crouching diagonally on the seat and leaning back on one another's knees in order to devour their calzones while maintaining as much physical contact as possible. Corin throws a crouton into González's mouth. Kasky uses Corin's knees as a pillow. The conversation turns from their fellow organizer David Hogg ("So laser-focused," González says, that "he could make his body get pregnant if he wanted to") to the conspiracy theory that they're actors being paid by shadowy donors (prompting Kasky to ask why his credit card was recently declined at McDonald's) to their prolific trolling of the NRA. They agree that the gun lobby's spokeswoman, Dana Loesch, is "very hot but kind of scary," as González puts it.

The pizza joint is a few hundred yards away from the school where 17 of their peers and teachers were murdered a month ago. At 2:21 p.m. on Valentine's Day, according to authorities, 19-year-old Nikolas Cruz, a former student, entered the freshman building armed with an AR-15 and opened fire into four classrooms on the first floor. Corin had just delivered carnations to the building to raise funds for junior prom; she had handed one flower to a girl who was shot minutes later. After the fire alarm went off during his AP environmental science class, Hogg took a video of students crouching inside a tiny classroom to hide from the shooter. The video went viral, landing him a recurring spot on the cable-TV circuit. The next day, Kasky invited Wind and Corin over to his house to plan a march for gun reform. Together, they started the #NeverAgain hashtag on Twitter.

Most of these kids cannot vote, order a beer, make a hotel reservation or afford a pizza without pooling some of their allowance. On the surface, they're not so different from previous generations of idealistic teenagers who set out to change the world, only to find it is not so easy. Yet over the past month, these students have become the central organizers of what may turn out to be the most powerful grassroots gun-reform movement in nearly two decades. For much of the rest of the country, numbed and depressed by repeated mass shootings, the question has become, Can these kids actually do it?

No one thinks it will be easy. Gun violence in America is one of those problems that can feel truly hopeless. The U.S. has only 4.4% of the world's population, yet it accounts for roughly 42% of the world's guns, according to the comprehensive 2007 Small Arms Survey. And roughly 31% of the world's mass shooters are American, according to a University of Alabama study. Even as mass-shooting deaths mount, our Second Amendment has made gun rights a third-rail issue: roughly 90% of Americans agree on "commonsense" solutions like universal background checks, yet absolutists stand in the way of any meaningful action.

After Adam Lanza killed 20 first-graders and six staff members at a Connecticut elementary school in December 2012,

John Barnitt, 17; Matt Deitsch, 20; David Hogg, 17; Diego Pfeiffer, 18; and Adam Alhanti, 17, plan the student movement in the #NeverAgain office

politicians tried to tackle the issue. President Obama issued Executive Orders to strengthen the background-check system and study gun violence, and several states tightened gun restrictions. Yet Congress failed to pass a modest bipartisan bill to close loopholes for gun sales. In the five years since, a familiar pattern has emerged. Every month or so, a killer shoots innocent people at random. There is a brief period of mourning. Democrats offer feeble pleas for new gun limits; Republicans offer "thoughts and prayers." No substantial laws are passed, and the nation moves on. This was the response when Omar Mateen killed 49 people at an Orlando nightclub in 2016; when Stephen Paddock massacred 58 people at a Las Vegas concert last October; when Devin Patrick Kelley killed 26 people in a Sutherland Springs, Texas, church in November.

But in the days after the Parkland shooting, something different happened. The Parkland kids, at once tearful and cutting, publicly called out the NRA's influence on national politics, and shamed the leaders they considered responsible for the nation's lax gun laws. (Privately, they have dubbed Florida Governor Rick Scott "Voldemort" and called Senator Marco Rubio some names that are unprintable.) Their voices quickly went viral. González had no Twitter account before the shooting—11 days later, she had more followers than the NRA. They called for specific changes like a renewed assault-weapons ban, universal background checks and digitized gun-ownership records.

Perhaps most important, the Parkland kids painted the NRA and their allies as the mortal enemies of the roughly 50 million schoolkids growing up in what Kasky calls "the mass-shooting generation." They took the mantle of "personal protection" from the gun lobby, while reframing the larger gun debate along generational lines.

VOICES OF PARKLAND

Students from Marjory Stoneman Douglas High School have kept diaries of their experiences since the shooting for TIME, which are excerpted here.

▸ *Go to* **time.com/parkland-diaries** *for more*

Feb. 14

JACK MACLEOD

16, junior

There are certain sounds you cannot mistake. I sprinted back up the stairs and locked eyes on my classroom. As I reached for the door handle, it wouldn't budge. It's protocol for teachers to lock their doors during a code red. I'm not sure how to describe my feeling in that moment. We ended up making our way to an outside hallway intersection. Someone told us to stay here—this was the safest place we could be in the moment. Being able to see from three directions brought a sense of comfort. It told us that we had other options if we were approached by the shooter. We waited. It was only around five minutes, but it felt like hours.

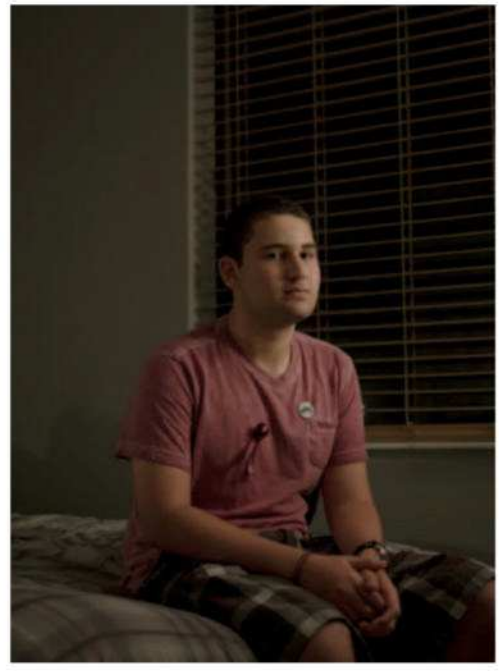
Feb. 28

CARLY NOVELL

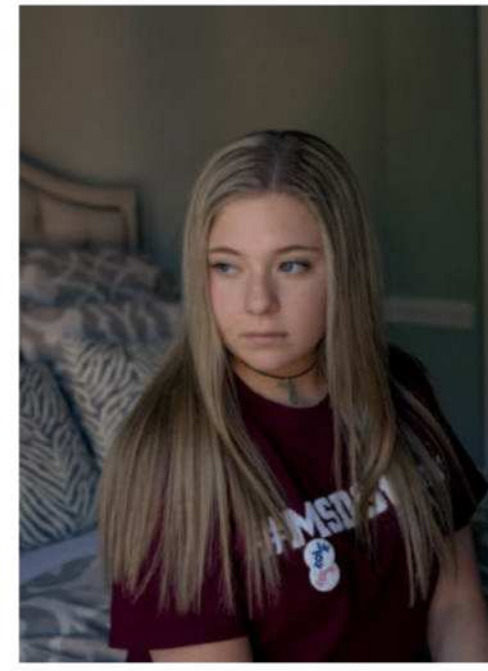
17, senior

It kind of felt like the first day of school, but in a weird way. It's so overwhelming having all these people around when we're trying to go back to normal. I don't think that there is a normal anymore, because 17 people died here. The police, that doesn't feel normal. Being here the whole day, it's heavy. I just didn't want to have to deal with it all.

This whole time I've been able to stay away from it, but walking into the place where it happened—it's facing it right away. I was thinking, How am I back to this place where I hid? Where my classmates were killed? It's just crazy to think about.



Alex Wind, 17



Jaclyn Corin, 17

And so news that was once met with sad resignation now drives teenagers to march in the streets. On March 14, nearly a million kids across the country left class for the National School Walkout to protest the school-shooting epidemic. Support for stronger gun regulations spiked to 68% after the shooting, up from 60% last November, according to a Politico/Morning Consult survey. Public support for the NRA is down to 37%, according to a *WSJ*/NBC poll, the first time since 2000 that the organization has been viewed more negatively than positively. Companies from Delta Airlines to Hertz to MetLife cut ties with the NRA. Dick's Sporting Goods announced it would stop carrying assault weapons. Florida, known for its historically soft gun policies, passed a bill March 9 that bans bump stocks, imposes a waiting period, raises the minimum age to buy a weapon and allows cops to take guns from mentally disturbed people. Sixty-seven NRA-endorsed Republicans voted for the bill, and the gun-friendly GOP Governor Scott signed it.

How a movement catches fire is always a mystery, but the Parkland kids seem matched for this moment. They're young enough to be victimized by a school shooting, but old enough to shape the aftermath. Like many teenagers, they're at a peculiar stage in their lives where they feel at once vulnerable and invincible, highly social yet impervious to the etiquette expected from adults. Their bombastic style mirrors President Trump's: they call their enemies names and hurl sick burns at politicians and lobbyists as if they're shouting across the locker room.

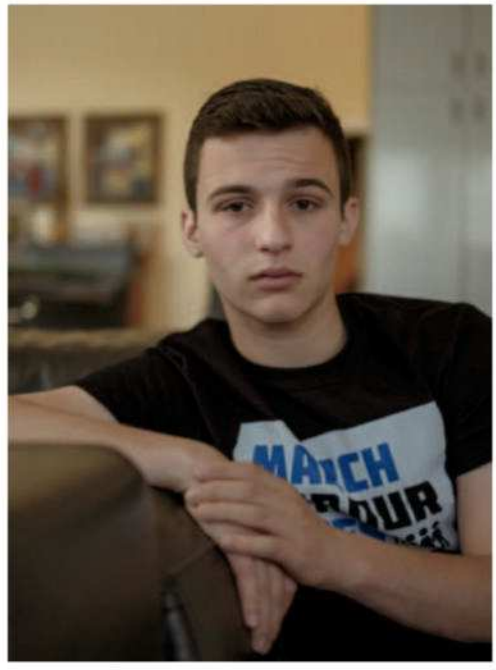
None of which means they'll actually succeed, and the kids are not entirely naive about their chances. They know the GOP-controlled Congress is unlikely to pass meaningful new gun laws. Although Trump briefly signaled support for strengthening background checks, he quickly abandoned that position. Nor do the Parkland kids speak for everyone, by a long shot: polls show that young people as a whole do not necessarily favor stricter gun laws than their parents. Which means the kids face the same question as the movements before them: If this government doesn't respond to their demands, did their movement make a difference?

The first big test will come on March 24 with the student-led March for Our Lives, which already has registered more than 800 demonstrations in all 50 states and on six continents. ("Sorry, Antarctica, y'all are gonna get shot," Kasky quips.) The organizers plan to allow only young speakers to address the Washington march, and only artists under 24 can submit official poster designs. The march is meant to expand voter registration among like-minded members of the school-shooting generation: the kids that grew up post-Columbine, who huddled behind barricades during active-shooter drills and learned to tape construction paper over classroom windows.

From there, the Parkland kids plan to make gun reform the central issue for young voters in the midterms. "We're going to show these politicians that we're coming for them," says Hogg. Kasky is more ambitious. "The world failed us," he says, "and we're here to make a new one that's going to be easier on the next generation. If you're against that, then get out."

THE YOUTH REVOLT is being planned in a donated office space in a strip mall, next to a

David Hogg, 17



Cameron Kasky, 17

mediocre deli in a small town near Parkland. To get inside the three windowless rooms where the #NeverAgain movement is headquartered, you have to knock three times on a locked glass door and then loudly identify yourself so the kids are sure you're not an armed stalker. (They have received death threats.) Inside the lair, there are boxes of March for Our Lives T-shirts and a bust of Robert F. Kennedy next to whiteboards with schedules of conference calls. On one wall there's a collage of mail that runs the gamut from encouraging to obscene. (An excerpt from one letter, sent to 17-year-old Parkland organizer Delaney Tarr: "Shut the f-ck up, you stupid f-cking c-nt.") On another there's a map of the U.S. where the teens have labeled the hundreds of sibling marches. A broom closet near the back bears a sheet of notebook paper that says CAMERON KASKY'S OFFICE, directly across from a tiny bathroom labeled CAMERON KASKY'S OTHER OFFICE.

Everything crackles with a sense of ferocious optimism. It feels like the last rehearsal of a high school musical, halftime at state championships, the final days of senior year. The kids stream in and out on no particular schedule, tumble to the floor to read their fan mail, twirl around on chairs while composing tweets and crowd into a tiny conference room for calls with reporters or lawmakers. One day, they spent an afternoon making a video mocking NRA spokeswoman Loesch (they call her "the woman from the SuperBeets commercial" after digging up an old spot she did for a beet-juice product). Another day, they met with Representative Ted Deutch, a Florida Democrat who represents Parkland in Congress. There's a sense that anything can happen in this little corner of the teenage universe, because all kinds of things can.

Gun politics have vexed adult organizers for decades, but so far the Parkland teens have had striking successes. Even though the kids are disappointed in the Florida bill ("It's like they tried to take a big step forward and then tripped," Hogg says), it's still the first significant piece of gun legislation to come out of the Florida legislature in at least 20 years. The March 14 school walkouts, organized by Women's March youth groups, surpassed the 750,000 protesters who flooded the Washington Mall for the Million Mom March in 2000 in what was then the largest gun-safety protest in U.S. history. "This youth movement is unprecedented," says Kris Brown, co-president of the Brady Campaign to Prevent Gun Violence, which was formed by the organizations behind the 2000 march. "What's different here is that the children who are impacted are older, and they are able to give voice in a way that could not happen before."

The #NeverAgain organizers built a movement with the skills they learned in high school. Hogg, an aspiring journalist who studies TV production at Stoneman Douglas, has anointed himself the movement's "press secretary." Corin, the bubbly junior class president who did a 50-page term paper on gun control last year, organized roughly 100 students to travel to Tallahassee to lobby the state legislature. Kasky and Wind, both drama kids, have given some of the most emotional testimony about the shooting and their dead classmates. González gave a speech about the NRA's influence that was informed by an AP government lesson on special-interest groups.

The kids are social-media natives who have

March 8

BRANDON ABZUG

17, senior

I've always wanted to be a politician when I grow up. I'm definitely looking forward to voting. What I predict will happen—well, definitely in Broward County—is every politician who doesn't act on changing the gun laws will be voted out. And I hope that the rest of the country will vote out people who aren't willing to take the steps. Just because I can't vote doesn't mean I can't make a difference.

I would like to say that my generation will fix the generations of the past and have world peace, but I also want to be realistic and know that history repeats itself.

Am I hopeful? Yes. Is it possible that we can be the generation that makes the changes to gun laws? I would love that. But it's hard to tell the future. I wish I had a crystal ball.

March 8

JOSE IGLESIAS

17, senior

I heard this morning about another school shooting that occurred in Alabama yesterday. I didn't really notice when things like this used to happen, but after going through something like that, we can sympathize with them.

You don't know what it is like unless you go through it. The fear of not knowing how many shooters there are, where they are, if your friends are dead—it changes you. Yesterday those students had to run or hide for their lives.

This changed us. I was told to run, and then when I got to the back of the softball field, they told us to duck and get some cover. It was as if we were in the middle of a war zone. Texting your parents, your friends, your family how much you love them because you don't know if you will ever see that person again changes you. It gives you a more positive perspective on life, but it also leaves you extremely traumatized.

used Twitter to stir up the same kind of fervor Trump does. If the President can mock his enemies, they reason, then why can't high school students? "People always say, 'Get off your phones,' but social media is our weapon," says Corin. "Without it, the movement wouldn't have spread this fast."

Teens have always had a unique talent for humiliation, and social media only sharpens their knives. If the Parkland kids were targeting their classmates instead of powerful lobbyists or Senators, their taunts could be mistaken for bullying. But going up against the NRA, they're like mouthy Davids slinging stones at Goliath. "They're using Twitter as a means to ridicule, to dismiss, to brush past the usual criticisms and just say, 'These people are full of it,'" says Robert Spitzer, a professor of political science at SUNY Cortland who has written five books on gun policy. "The door for this has been opened by Donald Trump himself."

As teenagers who survived a school shooting, they're politically hard to hit: if the NRA or the GOP fight back, they are attacking young victims of a tragedy. One GOP candidate for the Maine house of representatives who called González a "skinhead lesbian" on Twitter faced so much online backlash that he dropped out of the race.

The students have had plenty of help. They've raised more than $4 million from small donors on the crowdfunding site GoFundMe, plus a couple million more from celebrities like George and Amal Clooney, Steven Spielberg and Oprah Winfrey. A top Hollywood PR firm is assisting with press requests pro bono, and Women's March organizer Deena Katz is volunteering as a consultant on the march. The gun-reform advocacy group Everytown for Gun Safety, backed by billionaire former New York City mayor Michael Bloomberg, has given out more than $1 million in grants to local organizers planning sibling marches around the country, and the Brady Campaign to Prevent Gun Violence is sending busloads of kids to Washington, D.C. Democratic megadonor Tom Steyer pledged $1 million to gun-safety groups' efforts to register more high school students to vote. "Our biggest problem is that we're getting too much help," says Corin.

They know that other youth campaigns against gun violence, including those led by black activists in urban communities, have not gotten the same financial support or media attention. "We came from an affluent area, and we're mostly white, and we have to use that privilege," says Tarr. The kids say they are trying to correct the imbalance. A letter from

the Dream Defenders, a racial-justice group formed after the killing of Trayvon Martin, is hanging on the office wall. And in early March, the teens invited young activists from the Peace Warriors, a Chicago antiviolence group, to Parkland to discuss coordinating their efforts. "We're fighting for the same thing," says Arieyanna Williams, a high school senior from Chicago who has been working with the Peace Warriors since sophomore year. "We found our voice in Parkland. We didn't really have it here."

Inside the office, there is no adult supervision beyond Matt Deitsch and Kaylen Pipitone, two 20-year-old college students and recent Stoneman Douglas alums who help with things that only adults can do, like signing contracts and insurance forms and paperwork for their 501(c)(4). "We want the grownups we need in this, and nothing more," says Kasky. "We only have people doing the things that as 17-year-olds we cannot." At an early #NeverAgain meeting, parents asked how they could help, recalls Alex Wind's mother.

The answer came back: "Order pizza."

THE MARCH FOR OUR LIVES almost certainly won't lead to major gun legislation in Congress this year. But the Parkland teens are taking the

Weeks after the massacre, students still visit the memorials to their murdered classmates and teachers on a field in Parkland, Fla.

long view. To them, this movement is as much about mobilizing young voters as it is about gun violence. The voter-registration group HeadCount plans to dispatch roughly 5,000 volunteers to sign up young voters at U.S. marches. The Parkland kids say their goal is for 4 out of 5 young people to vote in November's midterm elections. "Either have the politicians pass legislation or set them up to be voted out," Kasky says. "It's a win-win."

If only it were that simple. Only 39% of voters between 18 and 20 voted in the 2016 election, according to the Center for Information & Research on Civic Learning and Engagement at Tufts University, and only 14% of voters that age showed up to cast a ballot in the 2014 midterms. Previous turnout drives have not had much success.

Not all young people vote Democratic, either. While Trump has a historically low approval rating among millennials (only 6% strongly approve of him, while 46% strongly disapprove), almost a third of millennials lean Republican, according to a Pew survey. Only 49% of 18-to-29-year-olds favored a renewed assault-weapons ban in a 2015 Pew survey, while more than half of respondents of other age groups did support a ban.

The organizers say the #NeverAgain movement is nonpartisan. "This isn't about Republicans or Democrats, this is about saving lives," says Tarr. Kasky is more bombastic. "You have two options," he says of both Democratic and Republican politicians. "One: do what we say. Or two: enjoy your last term."

They envision a youth political movement that will address many of the other issues affecting the youngest Americans. Hogg says he would like to have a youth demonstration every year on March 24, harnessing the power of teenage anger to demand action on everything from campaign-finance reform to net neutrality to climate change. But even if none of this works—even if they never pass comprehensive gun reform, and net neutrality fails, and *Citizens United* endures, and climate-change legislation stalls—today's teenage rebels will become tomorrow's establishment leaders, informed by the experience that may already be shaping the gun debate.

And that, says Hogg, is the bottom line for politicians who side with the NRA. "You're gonna be smeared in the textbooks. Your legacy is gone," he says. "If you don't stand up with us now, you'll be standing against us." —*With reporting by* MELISSA CHAN/NEW YORK □

March 9

ALYSON SHEEHY

18, senior

The first week has been rough, but it has also been healing. Seeing the empty desks is a struggle, and I hate knowing that I will never get to see them again.

One thing that has really helped me is working on our yearbook. So far we are the first people to document this type of event in a yearbook. It is something that we are taking seriously, because this has to be done right.

The support from the community has been amazing, however sometimes it can be a little overwhelming. We have received so many banners and letters from other schools that it is tough to read them all. We really do appreciate everything everyone has been doing for us.

Being with my friends and just talking and laughing again has made it better. It's comforting to know that everyone around you knows what you are going through. It makes it something that's easy to talk about.

WHAT WE CAN DO TO STOP IT

COLUMBINE. SANDY HOOK. VIRGINIA TECH. Las Vegas. The names of America's mass shootings have become as hauntingly familiar as the responses to them—a now predictable cycle of thoughts and prayers, calls for new gun laws, debate over their need and then, usually, little else. Until the next one.

No other developed country has such a high rate of gun violence. A March 2016 study in the *American Journal of Medicine* found that Americans are 25 times more likely to die from gun homicide than people in other wealthy countries. There are commonsense steps we can take to reduce that toll, but they require acknowledging certain truths. The right to bear arms is enshrined in the Constitution, and there are approximately 265 million privately owned guns in the U.S., according to researchers from Northeastern and Harvard universities. Any sensible discussion about America's gun-violence problem must acknowledge that guns aren't going away. "We have to admit to ourselves that in a country with so many guns, progress is going to be measured incrementally," says Jeff Swanson, a professor of psychiatry and behavioral sciences at Duke University School of Medicine.

What does that mean in practice? It requires a shift in our collective perspective. While legislators in statehouses and Washington can pass laws that may—or may not—help, the most effective way to tackle our national problem is to stop thinking of gun control as a political battle and instead see gun violence as a public-health issue. "The public-health model says you intervene in as many places as possible," says Dr. Liza Gold, a clinical professor of psychiatry at Georgetown University School of Medicine. "There are no magic solutions. There are a lot of solutions."

Here are six steps that we can take to reduce America's shameful gun-violence problem.

67%
Percentage of Americans, in March, who say they want stricter laws regarding firearms sales, the highest in any Gallup survey since 1993

97
Number of deaths from gun violence in the U.S. per day in 2016, according to the *Annals of Internal Medicine*

90%
Percentage of gun homicides committed with handguns (in cases in which the type of weapon used is known)

1. MAKE OWNING A GUN LIKE DRIVING A CAR

The reduction in U.S. motor-vehicle deaths over the past 50 years is one of the great triumphs of public-health intervention. Safer cars, stronger seat-belt laws and fewer teenage drivers have helped reduce car fatalities, which dropped from 33.5 deaths per billion miles traveled in 1975 to 11.8 in 2016. Gun deaths have increased steadily since 2009 and are now nearly as lethal as traffic accidents, according to the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC).

Lawmakers can learn lessons from auto safety. To start, they can put in effect more rigorous requirements for owning firearms. "For the most part, it is much easier to be a legal gun owner in America than it is to be a legal driver," says David Hemenway, director of the Injury Control Research Center at the Harvard T.H. Chan School of Public Health.

Some measures, like Walmart's lifting its minimum age for purchasing a gun from 18 to 21, may sound good but likely won't do much to combat gun violence. According to FBI reports, handguns were responsible for 90% of homicides in 2016. Walmart sells handguns only in Alaska.

A more effective policy would require every buyer, of any age, to obtain a license that includes a registration of all purchases and at least a modest training program. According to the State Firearms Law project, just seven states require a permit to possess a gun of any kind. A 2014 study in the *Journal of Urban Health* found that Missouri's 2007 repeal of its permit-to-purchase handgun law was associated with a 25% increase in firearms homicide rates.

265M
Approximate number of privately owned guns in the U.S.

70M
Approximate increase in privately owned guns in the U.S. from 1994 to 2015

REPORTED BY SEAN GREGORY, CHRIS WILSON, ALICE PARK AND ARIC JENKINS

Sunrise Tactical Supply shop in Coral Springs, Fla., where Nikolas Cruz, 19, purchased the gun he used to kill 17 people at Marjory Stoneman Douglas High School; on March 9, Florida raised the minimum age to buy a firearm from 18 to 21

'We know far less about gun violence as a cause of death than we do about almost every medical problem.'

DR. ELINORE KAUFMAN, firearms-policy researcher and chief resident in surgery at the NewYork-Presbyterian/Weill Cornell Medical Center

GABRIELLA DEMCZUK FOR TIME

2. ENACT THE RIGHT RESTRICTIONS

Not all gun laws are created equal. The military-grade rifles used in many mass shootings may dominate the political debate, but they account for less than 5% of homicides. Meanwhile, research published in *JAMA Internal Medicine* in early March found that strong firearms laws in a state, such as background checks for all private sales and restrictions on multiple purchases, were associated with lower rates of gun homicides.

Researchers are also finding links between right-to-carry laws—which require governments to issue concealed-carry permits to citizens who meet certain requirements—and spikes in firearms crime. A 2017 National Bureau of Economic Research working paper estimates that 10 years after the adoption of right-to-carry laws, violent crime is 13% to 15% higher than it would have been without those policies.

Another measure that has attracted lawmakers' attention is extreme-risk protection orders, also known as gun-violence restraining orders. These allow family members or law enforcement to petition a court to temporarily bar an at-risk person from buying firearms. Police may also be permitted to confiscate their guns. Before the shooting in Parkland, Fla., California, Oregon, Washington, Indiana and Connecticut all had some version on the books. Florida adopted one on March 9.

Evidence suggests that these orders save lives. A 2017 study in *Law and Contemporary Problems* estimated that in Connecticut, every 10 to 20 gun seizures averted a suicide. In California, the San Diego city attorney's office has issued 20 gun-violence restraining orders since mid-December. In one instance, an employee of a car dealership had praised the Las Vegas gunman and said that if he were fired, he'd return to the dealership with a gun. After the city obtained a gun-violence restraining order, the man surrendered a semiautomatic rifle.

19

Number of times more money that was spent on federal research of motor-vehicle accidents than gun violence, from 2004 to 2015; motor-vehicle accidents and gun violence killed similar numbers of Americans

49

Number of times more likely it is for 15-to-24-year-olds to die from gun homicide in the U.S. than in other wealthy countries

3. INVOLVE DOCTORS

Doctors can play a key role in educating families about gun safety, particularly when it comes to keeping guns out of the hands of young children. Studies show that some 3-year-olds are strong enough to shoot a gun. By the time they reach school age, about 75% can fire a weapon. As a result, the American Academy of Pediatrics (AAP) recommends that pediatricians start asking about firearms in the home when children are 3 years old and curious about the world—and objects—around them.

But some states have sought to prevent doctors from talking about guns with patients, even though they present a health risk. A 2011 Florida law threatened physicians with suspending their medical license and fines if they inquired about and discussed a family's firearms. Doctors sued, claiming that the statute violated their First Amendment rights. A federal appeals court settled the *"Docs v. Glocks"* case in February, siding with the physicians and overturning the law. Minnesota, Missouri and Montana also limit doctors' ability to address guns with patients in different ways.

Doctors say such gag laws and restrictions hamper their ability to discuss issues that can affect patient safety; after all, they talk about the dangers of smoking or of not wearing a seat belt in a car. "My role is not to be judgmental," says Dr. Joseph Wright, chair of the committee on emergency medicine for the AAP. "We are asking about and providing information about what science has demonstrated as the most effective ways to keep children safe in homes with guns."

'It is much easier to be a legal gun owner in America than it is to be a legal driver.'

DAVID HEMENWAY, director of the Injury Control Research Center at the Harvard T.H. Chan School of Public Health

4. INVEST IN TECHNOLOGY

"If we can set it up so you can't unlock your phone unless you've got the right fingerprint," President Barack Obama asked in January 2013, "why can't we do the same thing for our guns?" More than five years and too many tragedies later, guns aren't much smarter now than they were at the time of the Sandy Hook school massacre. In fact, no truly smart guns are on the market in the U.S.

All the pieces appear to be in place. The safety technology is available. Entrepreneurs have introduced products that use biometrics to identify a weapon's rightful owner while locking it for everyone else. Such smart guns may not prevent mass shootings with firearms purchased legally. But they can prevent crimes or suicides with weapons owned by somebody else. They can also cut down on accidental shootings. According to the CDC, an average of 500 people are shot to death unintentionally every year.

If the benefits seems obvious, why aren't smart guns available? Some gun owners worry that the technology will fail when they need it most, like during a home invasion. Others fear government overreach. New Jersey passed a law in 2002 requiring that the state's retailers sell only personalized, or smart, guns within three years of their being available for sale elsewhere in the U.S. The mandate backfired, mobilizing opposition to smart guns from the firearms lobby and stunting investment in the technology. Similarly, when Smith & Wesson, one of the largest handgun manufacturers in the U.S., agreed to develop smart-gun technology in the wake of the Columbine school shooting in 2000, the NRA condemned the company. Gun owners boycotted, and sales plummeted. No major gun manufacturers have invested in the technology since.

In early March, Smith & Wesson's parent company, American Outdoor Brands Corp., reaffirmed its stance. "We are a manufacturing company, not a technology company," it wrote in a response to the investment-management firm BlackRock, which had inquired about the gunmaker's plans to address safety concerns.

Support for smart guns, however, could be building. A 2016 study from Johns Hopkins University found that almost 60% of Americans considering purchasing a new handgun would be willing to make it a smart gun. "The time for smart guns," says Stephen Teret, founding director of the school's Center for Gun Policy and Research, "is now." Such numbers mean that smart guns could be a prime market opportunity. "This isn't just a great gun-safety mission," says Gareth Glaser, CEO of LodeStar Firearms, which is developing a smart gun. "It could be a hell of a business."

On a fence near Marjory Stoneman Douglas High School, mourners set up a memorial for victims of the Feb. 14 mass shooting; to prevent future tragedies, more state legislatures are considering laws that allow courts to empower police to temporarily seize firearms from individuals at risk of doing harm

GABRIELLA DEMCZUK FOR TIME

5. FUND RESEARCH

According to a 2017 study published in the *Journal of the American Medical Association,* gun violence should have received $1.4 billion in federal research money from 2004 to 2015, on the basis of mortality rates and funding levels for other leading causes of death. Instead, such projects received $22 million—just 1.6% of the projected amount. Gun violence received 5.3% of the federal research funds allocated for motor-vehicle accidents, even though they kill similar numbers of Americans per year.

"We know far less about gun violence as a cause of injury and death than we do about almost every medical problem," says Dr. Elinore Kaufman, chief resident in surgery at NewYork-Presbyterian/Weill Cornell Medical Center.

There is a reason for this lack of knowledge. In 1996, Congress, with a push from the NRA, passed the Dickey Amendment—named after its author, former Republican Representative Jay Dickey from Arkansas—which mandated that no CDC funds could be spent on research that "may be used to advocate or promote gun control." Congress also cut $2.6 million from the CDC budget, which was equal to the federal agency's expenditure on firearm-injury research the prior year. The message to researchers was clear: study the gun problem at your own risk. "The effect of the Dickey Amendment was beyond chilling," says Dr. Eric Fleegler, a pediatric emergency physician and health services researcher at Boston Children's Hospital.

The restrictions on research funding have had devastating consequences on what we know—and what we don't. In early March, the Rand Corp., a nonpartisan think tank, released a sweeping two-year examination of U.S. gun laws. The main takeaway: there's a dearth of evidence on their impact. Few studies, for example, test the argument that gun restrictions thwart people's ability to defend themselves. "There are thousands of studies waiting to be performed," says Fleegler. "But you can't do them because of the money." Toward the end of his life, even Dickey, who died in April 2017, said he regretted the amendment that bears his name.

Some states are trying to pick up the slack. California recently opened the nation's first state-funded firearms-violence research center, on the Sacramento campus of the University of California, Davis. Such investments are urgent as the failure to find answers carries a steep cost. "People are dead today," says Dr. Garen Wintemute, director of the new center, "as a result."

6. END IMMUNITY

Federal law offers the gun industry extraordinary protections. In 2005, Congress passed the Protection of Lawful Commerce in Arms Act, which shields gun manufacturers and sellers from civil claims brought by victims of gun violence. NRA CEO Wayne LaPierre hailed the law as the most significant piece of pro-gun legislation in 20 years.

No one benefits from frivolous lawsuits. But holding manufacturers liable for the misuse of their products, experts say, would incentivize them to make firearms safer. "If pillows caused fatalities at that level, those companies would be bankrupt," says Fleegler of Boston Children's Hospital. "If there were 500 deaths a year associated with any consumer product, it would be banned, regulated, fixed. But here, nothing."

THE ONCE AND FUTURE KING

Vladimir Putin believes he's destined to make Russia great again. He has a long way to go

By Mikhail Zygar/Moscow

Thousands of Russians brave freezing temperatures at a Moscow concert to celebrate Putin's re-election victory on March 18

PHOTOGRAPH BY MLADEN ANTONOV

TENSIONS WERE RUNNING HIGH INSIDE the Kremlin. There were only weeks to go before Russians voted in the March 18 election, and federal ministers were worried about keeping their positions. During a meeting, one turned to President Vladimir Putin and asked, "Vladimir Vladimirovich, well, what will happen to me after March 18?"

Everyone present understood that the minister had made a terrible mistake. Inside this Kremlin you cannot publicly demonstrate weakness, and you cannot ask Putin about your future. Not that he would give a straight answer; according to my sources, Putin gave a sly smile and replied, "Well, why, even I do not know what will happen to me after March 18."

Of course, Putin's re-election for a fourth term was a given—and the electorate duly delivered it, with 77% backing the incumbent. But still the Russian political elite waited in horror for the day of the election—not because they had doubts about the result but because they were terrified of what would come next. Even following the poisoning of former military intelligence agent Sergei Skripal in the U.K. on March 4, the ministers were not particularly afraid of rising tensions with the West. The fundamental changes to come were far more serious.

Under the current Russian constitution, this should be Putin's last six-year term in office. But virtually nobody in the bureaucratic elite of Russia believes Putin will step down in 2024. "There is a misconception that Putin is tired, needs rest and wants to live the life of a billionaire," says a former minister who still has personal access to the President. "But Putin is far from being tired. He is interested in everything and digs into every matter, paying attention to all the details. This is his lifestyle, this is who he is. He can't imagine life without power."

Putin will now start devising a complicated scheme for ruling the country in the future. Perhaps that means finding a loophole in the constitution, or changing it, or building a new structure of the state. All sources speaking to TIME from Putin's inner circle are certain—at least for now—that he will remain in power.

The ruling bureaucracy understands this means an era of turbulence is coming. The question—as the outspoken minister said—is what it means for everyone else.

From left: Putin is flanked by Prime Minister Dmitry Medvedev, in blue suit, and Patriarch Kirill

VLADIMIR PUTIN has changed considerably during his time in power. He never planned to remain in the presidency forever when he took office in 2000. During that first term, he even considered refusing to run for re-election in 2004. As I reported in my book *All the Kremlin's Men,* his friends were future oligarchs amassing great fortunes as businessmen, or the heads of intelligence services. For them, Putin was the guarantor of omnipotence, and they put tremendous pressure on him at that time to hold on to power.

During his second term, he started to think about his contribution to history and how he would be remembered. In 2008, he yielded the presidency to Dmitry Medvedev and became Prime Minister, exercising control from behind the scenes. But the experience rankled him—he was especially annoyed by how Medvedev responded to the Arab Spring protests in 2011.

The Arab Spring reminded Putin of the so-called color revolutions that took place in the early 2000s, when movements in former Soviet republics like Georgia and Ukraine attempted to remove pro-Russia leaders. Looking at what was happening with the weakened regime of Muammar Gaddafi, Putin believed that Russia should in no circumstances support the international operation against Libya, seeing it as part of a global conspiracy in which Russia would be the next target.

But Medvedev backed the international operation in Libya and declined to veto a U.N. Security Council vote authorizing it. To Putin, this illustrated how nobody could be trusted to run the country except him. He would return to the Kremlin in 2012.

From that moment on, Putin's psychology underwent a transformation. He came to believe that he had been chosen for a special mission: to save Russia. This more than anything inspired the events of 2014, when he decided to annex Crimea in response to a revolution in Ukraine that he believed to be part of a global anti-Russia conspiracy. The Western world reacted with dismay, and the U.S. and Europe imposed steep sanctions on Russia. But for many Russians, the annexation

PREVIOUS PAGES: AFP/GETTY IMAGES; THESE PAGES: ALEXEI DRUZHININ—TASS/GETTY IMAGES; SOVFOTO/UIG/GETTY IMAGES

of the Russian Orthodox Church after a concert in Moscow on Sept. 9; outgoing President Boris Yeltsin shakes hands with his successor in 1999

signified that Russia, for the first time since the dissolution of the Soviet Union, was once again a real superpower.

Ever since, making Russia great again has become an ideology for Putin. State propaganda started to spread the idea that Putin is the only one who can restore the greatness of Russia. This concept was articulated in the most detailed way in the buildup to the presidential election, in a documentary broadcast on the state-owned TV channel Rossiya 1. The film, *Valaam,* tells the story of how Putin helped restore a monastery that had fallen into neglect after the collapse of the USSR, a symbol of how he has united fervent advocates of the communist-era Soviet Union with those who dream of Russia's pre-revolutionary empire, built on Orthodox Christianity.

In the most symbolic part of the film, Putin says the Bolshevik architects of the USSR reproduced the traditional dogmas that dominated the Russian Orthodox Church for centuries. He even compares the preserved corpse of Lenin, which lies in a mausoleum in Moscow's Red Square, to the relics of Orthodox saints.

The film conveys the idea that Putin is a unique leader of Russia, able to bridge historical divides. As his former chief of staff Vyacheslav Volodin once put it, "Without Putin, there is no Russia."

LONG BEFORE THE ELECTION, Putin began preparing for a new era. Over the past year, he has started to clear house. He has fired a number of older governors and installed young and little-known bureaucrats in their place. The most typical appointees of 2017 were the governors of the Samara and Nizhny Novgorod provinces. They are virtually indistinguishable, so much so that Russian social-media users compared them to *The Matrix*'s Agent Smith, the self-cloning agent of the all-powerful central computer.

These Agent Smiths represent an archetype of Putin's new staff. They are all roughly in their mid-40s or younger; they don't have any particular political beliefs; they are technocrats personally loyal to Putin. This new generation of Russian bureaucrats is being built in the President's own image. Putin too was once a faceless official with no ambition, until he was eventually appointed Prime Minister and stepped into the role of President after Boris Yeltsin quit.

Putin's entourage also includes true believers, so-called orthodox Chekists (or secret police) who—again, like Putin—came from the KGB and built their careers under Brezhnev. Among them are Igor Sechin, chief executive of the energy company Rosneft, who is considered the group's leader. By and large, these figures never believed in communism but have come to believe in God. And if Russia is God's chosen nation, it follows that Putin is God's chosen leader. The President himself naturally subscribes to this view.

Together, the new technocrats and older Chekists present an existential challenge to the Russian political elite, or the "sleeping liberals" who came to prominence in the 1990s, during the presidency of Yeltsin. Many of them were members of the teams of democrats and reformers like former Prime Minister Yegor Gaidar and Anatoly Sobchak, the first elected mayor

of St. Petersburg. Almost all are very wealthy, and their families own property abroad. They are either oligarchs themselves or friends of oligarchs.

Many of them are convinced that Russia needs democracy, a market-driven economy, freedom of speech and good relations with the West. They would never say that out loud, of course, aware that it contradicts Putin's stance. And while they remain silent, Putin's coalition of technocrats and Chekists has been gathering enough power to keep the President in power for a generation still to come.

Members of this sleeping faction insist that they are ready to wake up as soon as the right moment comes—but some say that time has come and gone. "It is strange that we haven't even noticed the moment when we lost everything," says one socially active Russian oligarch. "We didn't start the fight for our beliefs when it was possible. Now we can do nothing. We can only watch silently as everything is falling apart."

YOU DON'T HAVE TO LOOK FAR to find evidence of what Putin will do with his next term in power. He set the tone on March 1 in his annual address to the Federal Assembly, when he unveiled a new generation of nuclear weapons. Ignoring tradition, he made his address from the gigantic conference center Moscow Manege rather than the Kremlin, so he could proudly show a video presentation of missiles flying toward the U.S. The West would no longer belittle Russia as it used to, he suggested. "Nobody listened to us then," Putin said to roars of applause. "Well, listen up now!"

It was hailed around the world as a return to the Cold War, which was exactly Putin's intention. Russia can't pretend to be an economic superpower, but it has another asset: nuclear weapons. Putin believes there is no other way to make the West respect Russia.

From his point of view, he exhausted all possible methods of establishing friendly relationships with Western leaders during the first 15 years of his rule and still didn't win their respect. He had hoped that George W. Bush, Tony Blair and their successors would consider him their equal. But Putin was insulted by Bush's attitude toward Russia, feeling that the American President treated it merely as a large, secondary European country. A return to the rhetoric of the Cold War is an opportunity to have a completely different dialogue, he believes. The Americans will respect him as they did Brezhnev and other Soviet leaders.

At the same time, Putin also hopes that relations with the West will improve. He doesn't dream of world war. He dreams of a new Yalta Conference, the peace conference that took place in Crimea in 1945 and brought Stalin, Roosevelt and Churchill together. Back then, the leaders of the countries that won World War II divided the world into zones of influence. Putin wants new zones of influence and new rules of the game. He wants the West to admit that territory that once belonged to the USSR (probably including nearby countries) should be areas of Russian responsibility. He wants guarantees, and the honors he feels that he deserves.

THIS SHOULD BE PUTIN'S LAST TERM IN OFFICE. BUT VIRTUALLY NOBODY IN THE RUSSIAN ELITE BELIEVES HE WILL STEP DOWN IN 2024

Western leaders like German Chancellor Angela Merkel and former U.S. President Barack Obama have argued that these spheres of influence no longer exist in the modern world. Putin rejects that as hypocrisy. He just needs Western leaders who are readier to negotiate.

Putin wants to look like a peacemaker. To do so, he'll have to look beyond Syria, where his military is propping up Bashar Assad's regime. Nobody in the Kremlin believes the U.S. will agree to have a major conference about resolving Syria and be ready to meet Putin's conditions.

But his administration is prepared to set other tasks for itself, tasks that are closer to home. For instance, Putin is prepared to resolve the problem of the Donbas, the area of eastern Ukraine where Russia's army has fueled a civil war since 2014. Sources in the Russian Foreign Ministry tell TIME that Putin is ready to make eastern Ukraine an area controlled by an international interim administration, as was the case in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Kosovo.

However, he is not ready to make concessions on the Crimean issue. "It's only fair," Putin responds to all foreign partners when they ask about Crimea. As far as he is concerned, the population of Crimea is satisfied with the annexation, and that means justice has been served. Nothing needs to change.

"It's only fair" has become Putin's new maxim. Ten years ago, he would brag that he is a lawyer by training, insisting that an unconditional adherence to the letter of the law was paramount to him. He didn't change the Russian constitution in order to be elected for a third term, yielding to another lawyer, Medvedev, before returning to the office himself. After annexing Crimea, Putin assured Russians that everything was done by the book.

But now Putin has changed. What he perceives as justice seems more important for him than the law—and that means he can change any laws if he considers the outcome to be fair.

How exactly Putin might remain in power is not yet clear. He has six more years to figure it out and will not start putting any plans into action immediately—at least not until after the World Cup, which Russia is hosting this summer. And he would not hurry to share his plan with his entourage. He likes surprises: the later everybody else finds out, the better.

But there is no doubt that he will find a way to stay in control; he thinks it's only fair. And time, at least, is on his side. In March 2024, when his fourth term is due to end, Putin will be 71 years old—the same age Donald Trump is today.

Zygar is the former editor in chief of Dozhd, Russia's only independent news channel. His books include All the Kremlin's Men *and* The Empire Must Die.

PUTIN WON. BUT RUSSIA IS LOSING

BY IAN BREMMER

VLADIMIR PUTIN MAY HAVE BEEN RE-ELECTED PRESIDENT of Russia on March 18, but he's far from the grand master of geopolitical chess portrayed in the Western media. Whether bragging about Russia's "invincible" new missile, playing coy over accusations that his hackers play games with foreign elections or that his spies murder opponents in faraway places, the Russian President seems intent on restaging the Cold War—but without the military reach or global ideological appeal that made the Soviet Union a formidable foe.

What has Putin really won? Today's Russia has an economy smaller than that of Canada. Its entire military budget is less than the extra money President Donald Trump wants Congress to spend on U.S. defense. It has no NATO allies, and it counts countries like Venezuela, Cuba, Sudan, North Korea, Syria and Serbia among its few reliable friends. China makes occasional deals with Russia but only at a Chinese price.

While Putin wants the world to see him as a strong, decisive leader, he often fails to understand the full impact of his actions. Looking at the foreign policy fights he has picked, it's clear that he is a shrewd short-term tactician and a lousy long-term strategist.

35%
THE DROP IN RUSSIA'S GDP FROM 2014 TO 2015

Let's begin with Ukraine. In response to the public protests in 2014 that ousted President Viktor Yanukovych—Russia's man in Kiev—Putin ordered Russian troops into action. Seizing Crimea gave Putin a trophy at the West's expense and boosted his tough-guy reputation. But freeing Ukraine of its most pro-Moscow region eased the way for Ukrainian nationalists to win the country's elections and left Russia responsible for paying pensions in a place full of pensioners. Meanwhile, the Russian navy gained nothing of strategic value in Crimea; it already had a base on that peninsula. For all this, Putin invited sanctions from the U.S. and Europe—which contributed to a drop in Russia's GDP from 2014 to 2015 that the World Bank put at 35%.

Nor did Putin win the hearts and minds of the people he tried to subdue. His move to destabilize Ukraine's eastern regions led an entire generation of Ukrainians—too young to remember life in an empire governed by Moscow—to believe that Russia was their country's bitter enemy. Ukraine may not move quickly toward the E.U. or NATO, but there is now a deep determination among many Ukrainians to never again serve as Russia's junior partner. Putin may well be remembered as the Russian who lost Ukraine.

What about other former Soviet republics? The Baltic states—Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia—have long since turned to the West; NATO troops are even stationed there now, a direct result of Russia's continued antagonism. Azerbaijan and the Central Asian states are more interested in long-term ties with rising China than with rusting Russia. If there is a dominant power in central Asia today, it's strategic and hungry Beijing—to Moscow's increasing chagrin.

In his quest for influence, Putin can look to Syrian President Bashar Assad, Russia's only reliable Middle East partner, to claim victory over former U.S. President Barack Obama. Russia will now get to keep its one Mediterranean naval base. But to what end? Deeper involvement in the Middle East is not a good thing for a country with a stagnant economy that already spends too much on its military.

PUTIN'S WORST DECISION was the green light he gave his intelligence services to play with the 2016 U.S. presidential election. It wasn't a surprising move; manipulation and sabotage are art forms in which any former KGB lieutenant colonel will take pride. Putin wanted to bring the U.S. down a peg, and he hated Hillary Clinton. No evidence has yet emerged that Putin made Trump President, but the U.S. intelligence community and lawmakers of both parties are now focused on threats posed by Russia. Yet in spite of Trump's fascinating refusal to criticize Putin, Russia's President has gained nothing of value from the U.S. President. Only Putin's failure to understand the checks and balances at the heart of the U.S. political system explains his apparent belief that Trump could override all objections to his would-be Russia reset. Sanctions aren't going away. Now that Russia's secret services stand accused of brazenly poisoning Sergei Skripal, a former double agent exiled in the U.K., more may be coming.

Putin's adventurism has so far helped divert the attention of the Russian public away from endemic corruption and economic stagnation at home. There, his one lasting achievement is ensuring the independence of the country's central bank and stashing away money in reserve funds during good times for use in bad times.

Russia is slowly emerging from two years of recession, mainly because oil prices have enjoyed a modest recovery. But as Putin begins his fourth term as President, he'll face a stark reality: Russia remains as deeply dependent on oil prices as when he took office a generation ago. Ten years ago, the oil price climbed to $147 per barrel, and Russian living standards and self-confidence rose with it. Since then, the price has fallen to less than half that amount and looks set to remain there for the foreseeable future. And the U.S. is at the heart of a revolutionary shift in energy markets: technological innovation in crude oil and natural gas production has helped the U.S. rival Russia and keep prices much lower than during the commodity boom of the past decade.

There's no evidence that Russia will adjust to this new reality by finally diversifying its economy. Even today, about 80% of Russia's exports are directly related to oil and gas, according to the Carnegie Center in Moscow. It will slowly become harder for Russians to maintain their standard of living, and the state will have less money to spend on both guns and butter. Recent efforts to create a Russian version of Silicon Valley have produced little. That's in part because Russia's smartest and most talented minds have every reason to leave the country in search of better opportunities.

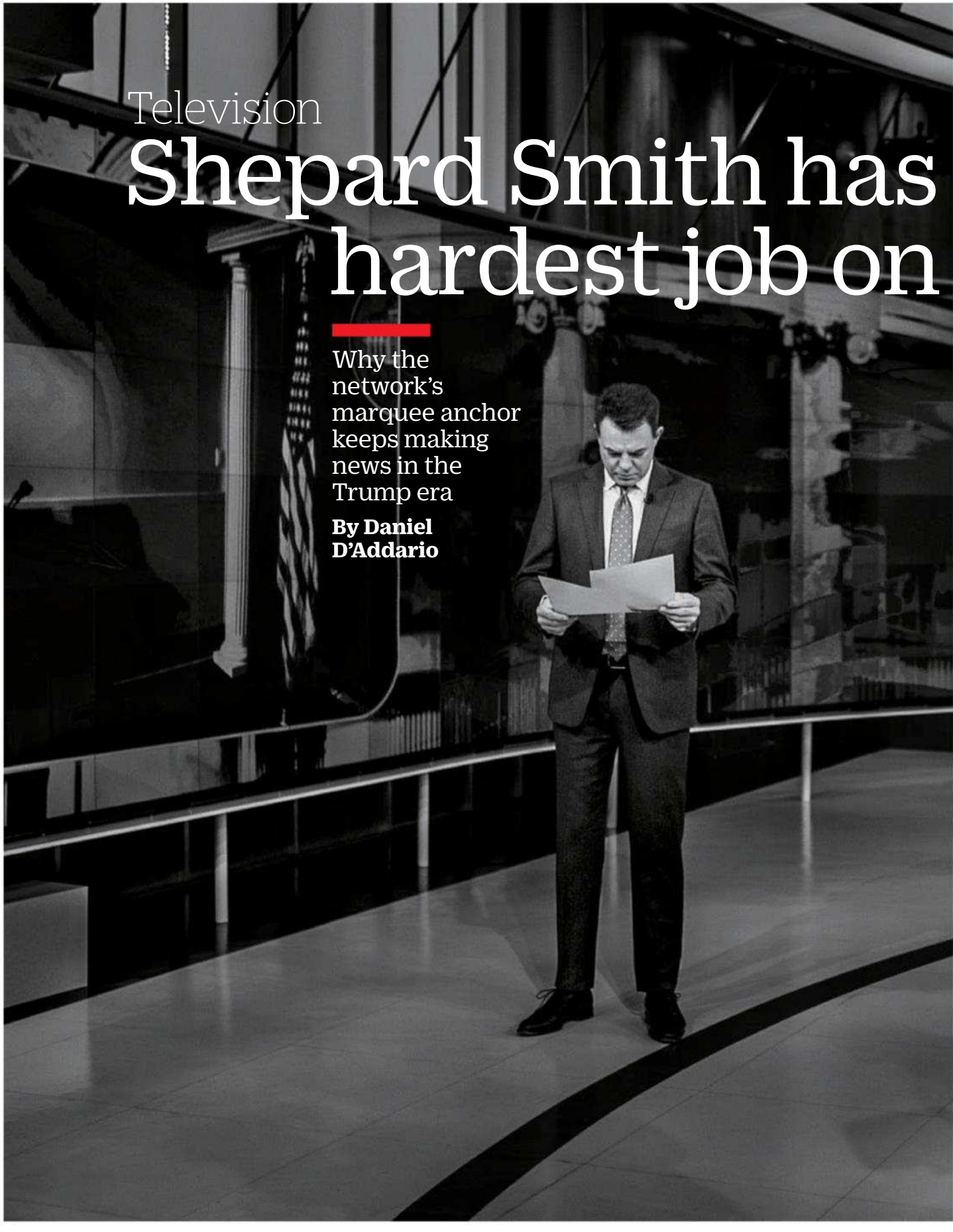
Putin should enjoy his victory celebration while it lasts. He and his country don't have much else on the horizon. ◻

Television

Shepard Smith has hardest job on

Why the network's marquee anchor keeps making news in the Trump era

By Daniel D'Addario



PHOTOGRAPHS BY ANDRES KUDACKI FOR TIME

the Fox News

Smith prepares for his 3 p.m. newscast at Fox News' Manhattan studio on March 1

IN A FOX NEWS STUDIO IN MANHATTAN on a Tuesday in February, Shepard Smith sits ready to begin taping his 3 p.m. newscast. He spent the preceding hour typing out edits to his script with slightly hunched posture, raising his eyebrows at his keyboard and reading his monologue to himself to test its accuracy and its cadence. The computers behind him—clad in giant white shells, they look like robots from the *Star Wars* universe—are each manned by researchers. Several of them are scanning their email and news sites, and one is watching @realDonaldTrump on Twitter. Smith, wired with an earpiece to the control room, periodically issues commands—to those researchers, to the producers who call his desk phone, to the air around him. "We need to get a statement from Israeli police," he says, looking to bulk up a wire report about Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu. "That'll give the Jerusalem bureau something to do."

When the countdown to Smith's hour of airtime arrives at 2:59, it's purely rhetorical. He sits silently at his anchor chair, watching White House press secretary Sarah Huckabee Sanders field questions from reporters in what has become a near daily occurrence: getting pre-empted by the most popular political drama in America. He scrolls through his phone, then leans forward on his elbows ready for Sanders to wrap. When she does, he kicks off his show a few minutes late with a discussion of the "brand-new timeline" Sanders offered for the scandal of the day. With much of his script now useless, Smith does the work of writing and editing as he speaks.

The President has scrambled the day-to-day lives of everyone in the news business, not least those at the network with which Donald Trump begins every morning. As Fox has tacked further to the right in its opinion programming, Smith's role has at times seemed like a challenge. Being the old-fashioned anchorman and reporter at a network known for new-fashioned provocation and opinion may be the hardest job at Fox News, and one Smith mused about walking away from over the course of two interviews this winter. On March 15, the network announced that Smith would stay and that he had signed a multiyear contract renewal. Which means Smith is going to have many more chances to tell viewers what they don't want to hear.

"I CAN REMEMBER A TIME," the 54-year-old anchor says after his program has wrapped at 4 p.m., "when we would do a rundown in the morning and, probably, that's what would happen." Those around Smith are feeling the Trump era as well. "I'm tired," says Kim Rosenberg, the network's vice president of news and Smith's producer and friend. "The news cycle goes through many evolutions during the day. Trump will tweet or they'll add a news conference or the White House briefing will be pushed back three times, and the news cycle changes."

Smith's show is often eaten into by the White House's televised press briefings. "Even now, it still boggles my mind that the next time Sarah Huckabee Sanders is on, over a year into a presidency, that it is something that all three [cable news] networks will take live," says Jay Wallace, the network's president of news since 2017 and Smith's former executive producer. "That's unheard of." Having hustled as a reporter in his early career and established his bona fides as an anchor after that, Smith would seem to be at a point where he could enjoy the status, visibility and routine schedule of a marquee anchor. Instead, Sanders and her boss have created a climate of uncertainty that has forced Smith to improvise.

Smith, a Mississippi native who retains the lilt and flattened sentence endings of his rural hometown, Holly Springs, began his career as a local news affiliate reporter in Florida. He joined Fox News at its founding in 1996 and eventually came to have both daytime and evening broadcasts. In '99, he launched *The Fox Report,* the network's flagship newscast and its version of what the broadcast networks do at 6:30 p.m. Smith became Fox's closest analogue to the classic voice-of-God newsman. In 2013, the evening show was canceled. "There used to be

Smith leads Fox News' 17-staffer breaking-news unit, jumping on air when major news strikes. He made headlines for his Parkland coverage

a thought that, Hey, we need a nightly newscast later in the day," says Wallace. "Those patterns have changed, just with the way we consume media." Now Fox's nighttime slate is dominated by opinion—the fire-breathing sort practiced by Tucker Carlson at 8, Sean Hannity at 9 and Laura Ingraham at 10.

Their co-existence with Smith is increasingly uneasy. Last November, Smith briskly and effectively debunked the "Uranium One" conspiracy theory, a particular bugbear of Hannity's. Reporting live on the air in the hours after the February school shooting in Parkland, Fla., Smith read a list of schools that had endured fatal gun violence since Columbine. And in March, Smith said on air that Trump, who had called for raising the age limit for buying firearms, had caved under political pressure: "The President told the kids at Parkland, 'I'll go strong on this, I'll work on this age thing,'" Smith said. "And then he met with the NRA." Smith's treatment of these stories—and how that treatment differs from his opinion-host colleagues'—hasn't gone unnoticed. Hannity, who wove the Uranium One scandal into his ongoing saga of Hillary Clinton's mendacity, has called Smith "so anti-Trump."

Smith says he's unbothered by the divergence between his reporting and Fox's opinion slate. "We serve different masters. We work for different reporting chains, we have different rules," he says. "They don't really have rules on the opinion side. They can say whatever they want, if it's their opinion. I don't really watch a lot of opinion programming. I'm busy." Smith laughs, enigmatic punctuation that may indicate he had been trying for a bon mot. Or it might just have been a Mississippi-nice way of indicating that he's said what he's going to say, bless my heart.

But he isn't kidding when he says he's busy. He has his hour and leads the unit of 17 staffers that breaks into coverage when major news occurs. He's the person Fox News viewers see during a hurricane or a school shooting. "I've been telling people about what's happening for a long, long, long time," Smith says. He takes a long and considered pause. "I know that when something big happens, people turn to us. I think people always will. People who maybe aren't with us all the time, who aren't regular watchers, maybe there is some sort of confusion about what's opinion and what's news, but I think our audience understands the difference and comes to us when they need us."

'I don't want to sit around and yell at each other and talk about your philosophy and my philosophy. That sounds horrible to me.'

Unlike some portion of the audience that reflexively switches on Fox News, Smith is disengaged by politics. "I get it," he says. "Some of our opinion programming is there strictly to be entertaining. I get that. I don't work there. I wouldn't work there. I don't want to sit around and yell at each other and talk about your philosophy and my philosophy. That sounds horrible to me." He cites his values growing up: "You don't talk about your money, you don't talk about your politics, and you don't talk about your sex. Right now, everyone wants to talk about those things, and I'm not one of them. Not going to do it."

This becomes clear in our first meeting when I broach his personal life; Smith, who had been dogged by rumors for much of his career, publicly acknowledged in 2017 that he is gay. "I think that's the part you like," he shoots back when I ask if his boyfriend of six years works in the news business. Some of the honey drips away from his drawl. "I don't mind talking about it. It's just, you know, that's just my personal life. And I'm not hiding anything. I have a longtime boyfriend, and we're as happy as we can be, and we live a very normal life and go to dinner and go to games and see his family and see my family. It's great for us. But I can't imagine anyone else finding it interesting."

Smith isn't the only anchor to profess a desire to avoid becoming the story, but his commitment to facts over feelings makes him an unusual fit for an era defined by news personalities. His opinion colleagues, geared to thrive in contentious times, fit the tenor of the moment more naturally. That he has, to some portion of the Fox audience, become despised for telling them what they don't want to hear is a frustrating part of the job. "It depends on what you're looking for," he says. "Are you looking for news and information so that you can make decisions about your life and your family? Or are you looking for your worldview to be confirmed? For that second kind of viewer, when the facts fly in the face of your worldview, that can be unsettling. Sometimes, then, they don't like me. And there are other times when the facts work beautifully with their worldview. Then they're very happy."

FROM ITS EARLIEST DAYS, Fox News has dazzled with its commitment to showmanship, from its glimmering studios to its vervy transitions between stories to its well-put-together anchors (a role the trim, tan and neatly groomed Smith fits into tidily). Wallace sees the network's main competition as the entertainment industry. "People may turn on the network and get pissed at whoever's on, but the storytelling that we have and the way that we break stories down is so important and compelling, they don't leave," he says. "And when they do leave, they're probably going to turn on Netflix."

What doesn't show onscreen is just how much has changed since 2016. The late Fox News chairman and CEO Roger Ailes was forced to resign in July of that year for an alleged pattern of sexual assault in the workplace. (He died in 2017.) Smith describes that period as "the hardest time in my professional life. We were in Cleveland at the [Republican] convention as our professional world was collapsing around us. We had become the news." The newsroom where researchers, reporters and digital staff work was recently renovated with substantial input from 21st Century Fox and Fox News executive chairman Rupert Murdoch. Completed only weeks before my visit, the revamp created an open office. The clear sight lines, with busy young reporters tapping away under various illuminated screens, is a powerful reminder of what came before: Fox and other TV outlets used to be closed-door environments in which secrets could fester.

'We're not living normal lives. We're ingesting a lot more than I think is healthy.'

Fox News has been forced to grapple with systemic changes outside its doors too. The network, which long prized a reputation earned in the Bill Clinton era as a brash insurgent, is now the primary news feed for the President. Smith doesn't know or profess to care if Trump watches his reporting: "I have no idea. I hope not, I hope he's busy. The President says he doesn't have much time for television, I've heard him say that." Don't we know Trump watches Fox's morning opinion broadcast? "I know that he watches *Fox & Friends* in the morning, because he often tweets about it. But those aren't the things I concern myself with. I try to find out what's happening, as opposed to just listening to what they're saying." Smith also shuts out the ascendant voices that have recently outflanked Fox's opinion journalists on the right: Does he read the website Breitbart or listen to provocateur Alex Jones? "Nope," he says.

But many of the viewers he's trying to reach do. And they're not shy about their disapproval when Smith calls out a fiction. On my second visit to his studio, he alludes to this feedback: "Wait till you see your reader email after this piece." Smith leaves his show's Twitter account to his team but says he is aware of how strongly voiced the critiques are.

Fox News, the cable-news ratings leader, has an older audience. The median Fox News viewer in 2017 was 65 overall, the same as MSNBC, and 66 in prime time, the highest of all cable-news networks. "I think that our audience skews conservative. We learn about our audience through research and data," says Smith. A 2014 study by Pew Research Center indicated that Fox News was the most trusted news source for "consistently conservative" viewers, edging the *Wall Street Journal,* Breitbart and the Drudge Report.

'I've never really liked politics. I've always said that I thought politics in America was weird and creepy, and lacked a connection to reality.'

Smith's generally straight-news broadcast doesn't frequently upset those viewers' senses of self. But breaking news has a way of shaking up established agendas. The day after my first visit was the day of the school shooting in Parkland. News of the incident broke as Smith was preparing to go to air. Once again, the pace of events scrambled a plan that was already pretty seat-of-pants. Smith took to the air for three hours, during which he listed the shootings and asked, "Why can't they put the best and the brightest together to research it and figure it out and help us stop it? [We're] failing our children."

The question resonated in part because Smith was, at that moment, the voice most widely heard. Perpetually ahead in the ratings, he was being watched by 3.3 million viewers in the 5 p.m. hour, compared with just fewer than 1.6 million watching Wolf Blitzer on CNN. Smith's critics, he says, told him that reading the list of schools was "political. You're making this political." Smith denies the charge, saying, "I guess, I know, that there are people who come at everything in a political way. I don't. I've never really liked politics. I've always said that I thought politics in America was weird and creepy, and lacked a connection to reality."

During our first meeting, Smith had

been energized. "It's more challenging," he says of reporting during the Trump presidency, "and more challenging is more fun." During our second meeting, he seems depleted. Bringing up walking away from the news desk was less an idle threat and more of a contingency plan for coping with a different America. Describing the response he has received lately, Smith says, "If we start making changes, if ratings go down or viewers scream too much and we make changes to accommodate, we are in extreme dereliction of duty. I cannot do it. I will not do it. I'll quit. I'll stop doing it completely."

He has decided to stay in some part because these times are so precarious. In his telling, before he signed his new contract, he was nervous about what would come on Fox's air after he left. "To stop doing it would be bad, because I think that there is a need for it and I know the degree to which we care about it and focus on it and we want it to be as perfect as it can be. And I wonder, if I stopped delivering the facts, what would go in its place in this place that is most watched, most listened, most viewed, most trusted? I don't know."

Smith marked 20 years at Fox News in 2016; his contract extension means he'll be there for years more

ON SMITH'S PRIME-TIME SHOW, he used to do light stories from time to time. Wallace, the head of Fox News, noted that Smith is a weather obsessive: "We were somewhere in L.A., and he told me some weird fact that there are 19 weather zones within two blocks in West Hollywood, and I was like, Why do you know that worthless knowledge?" Asked to name one of Smith's favorite stories, his executive producer Jon Glenn recalls the 2015 incident in which two llamas ran through suburban Phoenix. "I know we're all going through this whole long journey of politics," Glenn says, "but look, there are some freaking llamas running down the street in Arizona!"

Smith remembers this fondly too. "We would try to be entertaining with them, because I always felt like you should get some dessert with the meal. That seems like an eternity ago." The people tuning into Fox and writing him emails and tweets don't want dessert in the form of a cute story. More and more, they seem to crave red meat, an appetite that much on Fox News' air has helped to nurture. But Smith can't brook shifting his reporting. "I think we have to make the wall between news and opinion as high and as thick and as impenetrable as possible. And I try to do that. And if I were doing this, there would be a lot more fact-based reporting, but it's available for people who want it. I don't know how badly they want it."

Now the pressures are greater, and the landscape is bleaker. Smith may still be seeing things he never expected, but they all tend to be on one beat. "I miss doing that thing I used to do, but I like this thing I'm doing now," he says. "I just wish everyone weren't so angry about it all. I wish that we could have lighter moments and not always be on guard with each other." Even as he signs on with Fox News for years to come, a solution seems, to Smith, to be far away. "We're not living normal lives," he says. "We're ingesting a lot more than I think is healthy." Which means? "This isn't going to just go away," he says. "It's going to get worse." ◻

A Way With Words

A survey probes the popularity of Chinese words in English-speaking countries

By Pan Xiaoqiao

Recent years have witnessed the use of an increasing number of Chinese words in the English language. A study carried out by the Beijing-based Academy of Contemporary China and World Studies (ACCWS) sheds light on how well Chinese expressions are recognized outside of China.

Researchers calculated the number of references to some 300 Chinese words in the online reports of 50 leading media outlets in the United States, the United Kingdom, Australia, the Philippines, South Africa, Canada, Singapore and India. Based on the outcome of these calculations, they chose 150 words for a survey. The survey was conducted in the above countries among people over the age of 18 who had attained a higher education, with a total of 1,260 responses collected.

Pinyin popularity

In a report released on Feb. 17, ACCWS , a research institute affiliated with the China International Publishing Group (CIPG), revealed the most recognized Chinese words overseas. Its findings showed that Chinese words are increasingly used in their *pinyin* form, as native English-speakers develop a greater understanding of their associated concepts.

Pinyin is the commonly used system for Romanizing standard Chinese characters, and it is a unique form of the language. Compared with Chinese characters, *pinyin* boasts an advantage in its ability to facilitate the spread of Chinese culture around the world.

XINHUA

Wushu enthusiasts perform in celebration of the Spring Festival in Madrid, Spain, on Feb. 11

According to the report, words related to culture make up a majority of the 100 most recognized *pinyin* words, including traditional festivals such as *chunjie*, the Spring Festival, and *chongyang*, the Double Ninth Festival. The former is China's holiday to celebrate the Lunar New Year, while the latter falls on the ninth day of the ninth month in the lunar calendar and is a time for autumn excursions. It is also a day on which Chinese people pay respect to the elderly as well as their ancestors.

Other popular culture-related words include *kongzi*, the *pinyin* name of preeminent ancient philosopher Confucius; *shaolin*, as in the Shaolin Temple of Chinese martial arts; and *gugong*, the *pinyin* spelling of the Forbidden City.

One particularly striking detail of the report is that some Chinese words that used to be translated into English are now being replaced by *pinyin*. The giant panda is now known not only by its English nomenclature but also as *xiongmao*, its Chinese name. Another example is *jiaozi*, long known as "dumplings" in the lexicon of English speakers, but nowadays the *pinyin* term is being favored by those overseas. The latest installment of the *Oxford English Dictionary* even includes *jiaozi* in its comprehensive record of the English vocabulary.

Globalized concepts

"Not only are we seeing a rise in words related to culture, but concepts from China's science and technology, economy and politics are also being absorbed into the pool of Chinese words used in other countries in the form of *pinyin*," said Wang Gangyi, vice president of CIPG.

The study reveals that since the 18th National Congress of the Communist Party of China in 2012, political phrases, such as *zhongguomeng*, the Chinese dream; *yidaiyilu*, the Belt and Road Initiative; and *mingyungongtongti*, a community with a shared future, are better recognized and understood in other countries, which implies greater recognition of China's direction.

All three phrases are key proposals made by Chinese President Xi Jinping. The Chinese dream of national rejuvenation is a commitment to bringing greater prosperity to the country and a better life to the Chinese people. The Belt and Road Initiative seeks to enhance connectivity along and beyond the routes of the ancient Silk Road, while a community with a shared future for mankind represents a vision of an open, inclusive, clean and beautiful world that enjoys lasting peace, universal security and common prosperity.

The ACCWS report is evidence of ever-stronger communication and integration between the Chinese- and English-speaking worlds, a natural result of globalization.

"Globalization calls for enhanced cultural exchanges between different countries," Yang Ping, deputy director of ACCWS, told *Beijing Review*. "These exchanges are also necessitated by efforts to build a community with a shared future."

Zheng Yongnian, director of the East Asian Institute, National University of Singapore, said in an interview with China Central Television that China previously existed as a vague concept for many people around the world. But now that these countries have more diverse forms of exchange with China, ranging from trade and investment to tourism, learning Chinese and using the language have the potential to boost people's personal prospects. China has become a part of their everyday lives, he added.

The ACCWS survey also discovered that China's economic and technological developments are enriching the world's glossaries. Fifteen associated words found a place on the top-100 list, with yuan and renminbi, terms for China's currency, in both the top 10 and the latest edition of the *Oxford English Dictionary*.

This phenomenon is related to the ongoing internationalization of the renminbi, and it hints at the expanding global influence of the Chinese economy, with both terms—yuan and renminbi—now commonplace in the English-language media. To date, more than 60 countries and regions, including Singapore and Russia, have adopted the yuan as a foreign exchange reserve currency.

Linguistic innovations

New words such as *zhifubao*, the Chinese name of online payment service Alipay, and *wanggou*, online shopping, are particularly well recognized among younger generations outside of China, having become popular in part due to China's booming internet economy built on a foundation of e-business and mobile payment.

Terminology from the world of science and technology, including *Wukong* and *gaotie*—high-speed rail—are also featured on the list. *Wukong* is China's Dark Matter Particle Explorer. The satellite is named after the famous Chinese mythological figure Monkey King.

Although the *pinyin* phrase *zhongguozhizao* ranked 79th on the list, its English translation, "made in China," is instantly recognizable to many around the world. In the past, this was a phrase characterized by mass manufacture and low-cost production, but today the phrase is taking on a new meaning, one built on innovation and creativity, which is redefining "made in China" around the world.

Shisanwu, the 13th Five-Year Plan, China's social and economic development program from 2016 to 2020, also made its way into the top 100, a sign that the world is increasingly turning to China for new opportunities.

According to the Global Language Monitor, since 1994, Chinese loan words in the English language have outnumbered those of all other languages.

"The world's languages are open to words borne of Chinese economic and technological innovations. Not only should China keep contributing words to other languages, but it should also act as a front-runner in innovation for the good of the world," Yang said. ■

Top 10 Most Recognized Chinese Words in English-Speaking Countries

01	**Shaolin**	(Name of a famed temple of martial arts)
02	**Yin and Yang**	(Chinese philosophical concepts)
03	**Yuan**	(Chinese currency)
04	**Gugong**	(Forbidden City)
05	**Nihao**	(Hello)
06	**Wushu**	(Martial arts)
07	**Qi**	(Vital force)
08	**Qigong**	(Traditional Chinese exercise)
09	**Renminbi**	(Chinese currency)
10	**Majiang**	(Mahjong, a four-player game)

(Source: *The Academy of Contemporary China and World Studies under the China International Publishing Group*)

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Time Off

A ROSY RETURN John Goodman and Roseanne Barr are back, on ABC's *Roseanne* revival. They join a wave of smart family comedies

INSIDE

***STEVEN SODERBERGH TRAINS HIS IPHONE ON CLAIRE FOY IN THE PSYCHOLOGICAL THRILLER* UNSANE**

SNL *ALUM BILL HADER PLAYS A HIT MAN WHO MAKES A SURPRISING CAREER PIVOT IN HBO'S* BARRY

***FLIGHTLESS BIRDS WADDLE BACK INTO THE SPOTLIGHT IN* MARCH OF THE PENGUINS 2**

TELEVISION

Roseanne is back. So is family TV

By Daniel D'Addario

ROSEANNE CONNER IS A TRUMP VOTER, and it makes sense. The sitcom mom played by Roseanne Barr lives in one of the Rust Belt towns that broke heavily against Hillary Clinton—though, in Illinois, she's technically a blue stater. She's provocative and likes to speak frankly. And, in the first episode of her sitcom revival (premiering March 27 on ABC), she's newly attracted to one side of our ongoing culture war. Preparing to say grace before dinner, she makes a reference to recent NFL protests, asking her liberal sister (Laurie Metcalf), "Would you like to take a knee?" Roseanne has always been an insult comic, so it's no surprise that she's drawn to a President whose power comes in part from his punch lines.

In its first run, *Roseanne* was political, but more implicitly than explicitly. The show dealt less with debates happening on the national stage and more with ones happening at kitchen tables, with the frayed purse strings of two working-class parents, and the even more frayed sanity that came with their trying to raise three kids in the midst of the 1990s' evolving cultural mores. Returning after 20 years off the air, though, *Roseanne* enters a world in which kitchen-table debate has become dominated by the cultural chaos that created and is stoked by the President. It's among a group of sitcoms doing crisp and effective work taking on social issues—territory that mainstream TV drama has all but left behind.

This new iteration of *Roseanne* makes a statement by kicking off with a brutally real, lengthy debate between sisters Roseanne and Jackie over their divided allegiances. The political is personal—the pair still haven't recovered from wounds inflicted in late 2016—and the personal swerves back around to political too. "You just can't stand for anybody to have their own opinions about anything, can you?" asks Jackie. "So you tell them how stupid they are all the time."

It's a layered depiction of the ways in which politics divide families—not just by disagreement, but by a divisive rhetorical style that's become ubiquitous in American life. Roseanne—both the comic and the character—was always gifted at mean jokes, but she's grown crueler; so have the times in which she lives. Recognizing that change is funny and sad in equal measure. It's a balance that the contemporary family sitcom is uniquely equipped to pull off.

ALL IN THE FAMILY

The family sitcom has come far since *The Brady Bunch,* thanks in part to stars like these

Rita Moreno
One Day at a Time
The Oscar winner plays Lydia, a protective grandma, on this reboot of a 1980s classic

Micah Fowler
Speechless
The actor gets to play a full character—one whose use of a communication board to address his family opens up new comic possibilities

Tracee Ellis Ross
black-ish
Playing an omnicompetent physician, Ross is funniest when collapsing under family stress

And thank goodness, because dramas, at present, can't or won't. Human-scale stories like *Friday Night Lights* or *Six Feet Under,* which assessed how contemporary culture alters the home and family lives of quotidian Americans, have gone out of style. On network TV, the procedural reigns supreme. (The secret of NBC's *This Is Us,* notionally a family drama, is that it's effectively a procedural that re-examines the same death every week.) And on cable and streaming, attempts to look at politics' impact on families—like Alan Ball's flawed but promising *Here and Now,* currently airing on HBO—can't help but be overshadowed by fire (from *Game of Thrones'* dragons) and fury (from the endless stream of antiheroes that keep cropping up in premium dramas). Politics as will be practiced by Robin Wright in the upcoming final season of *House of Cards* is glamorous enough for prestige drama, but politics as it affects lunch-pail Americans is reserved for comedy.

That's all the better, given how much good comedies have been doing with it. On Netflix's *One Day at a Time,* complexities of gender and Latinx identity are parsed with élan. The show, which depicts the lives of a Cuban-American family in Los Angeles, places real pain in their path—homophobia, racism, misogyny, struggles with mental illness. And yet the show is more than the sum of its problems. It gives its stories heft and a dollop of genuine warmth; its debates are infused with the sense that each participant is aware that they're stuck with their conversation partner for life. Meanwhile, on *Roseanne*'s network home, ABC, families both like and unlike the Conners have been debating tough topics for years. On *Speechless,* a superb show about a family whose eldest son (Micah Fowler) has a disability, the struggle to obtain resources on a recognizably tight budget and to balance the needs of all three children has enough juice and tension to roll on for years to come.

And on TV's current reigning family sitcom, *black-ish,* the arguments have only grown sharper in the Trump era. News broke this month that ABC had shelved an episode of the series that dealt with the debate over NFL players kneeling during the national anthem. Why the episode didn't make it to air isn't known, but it seemed like a missed opportunity for the network to address a topic that's been widely discussed and that has meaning beyond itself—as Roseanne, with her barbed comment about the protests, knows well. Hers shouldn't be the only take allowed to exist on the air. After all, debates give both sides their time.

What *Roseanne* coming to ABC should represent is continued engagement with new points of view in America's endless debate. What it might too easily become, even at a time of openness to all kinds of TV families, is the loudest voice in the room. ◻

PREVIOUS PAGE: ABC; THESE PAGES: MORENO, FOWLER, ROSS: GETTY IMAGES; TRUST: FX; HADER: MICHAEL BUCKNER—DEADLINE/REX/SHUTTERSTOCK

TELEVISION

Another Getty story in *Trust*

The saga of the wealthy Getty family—and the 1973 incident in which scion John Paul Getty III was kidnapped for a ransom that his grandfather, oil tycoon J. Paul Getty, refused to pay—has become a Hollywood favorite. After last year's film *All the Money in the World* comes *Trust,* a new FX limited series debuting March 25. The movie featured Christopher Plummer doing straightforward work as a brusque patriarch; on this show Donald Sutherland's take on the character is more complex. The actor shows you the urgent, addictive need to win that comes with Getty-scale success. And as the younger Getty, Harris Dickinson glimmers with pain: "You don't know my granddad," he tells his captors. "If he says he won't pay, he won't pay." He knows his grandfather too well. Both tellings of this story get mired in fixation on wealth and its trappings, losing sight of the human factor. But in a shattered performance as a young man lost in the world, Dickinson locates the story's pathos. —*D.D.*

With Amanda Drew, Sutherland brings Getty to life

QUICK TALK

Bill Hader

The actor and Saturday Night Live *veteran makes his directorial debut with the dark comedy series* Barry *(debuting March 25 on HBO), co-created by Alec Berg. Hader stars as a dejected assassin who follows a mark to an acting class and decides to make a career pivot.*

How do you find the humor in a story about a depressed hit man? Alec and I both come out of comedy, so we can't help but not take certain things too seriously. Barry goes to meet with Chechen mobsters, and I don't like when there are just bad guys—everyone has their reasons—so we opened those characters more. It turned into, "Oh, what if the mobster's henchman was kind of like a guy from the Apple Genius Bar?"

What would you say to people concerned about depicting gun violence? Our show does not glorify it. It shows it for what it is: brutal and sad. One of my favorite parts is when [a dead character's] dad shows up and Barry's like, "Oh, right, these people have families that love them." If Barry's purpose is to get out of that world, that world should be awful.

Is directing your big dream? That was the thing I moved to Los Angeles to do—be a director and writer—and I kind of fell into acting and performing. A lot of directing is making people feel secure in what they're doing—and if it's not working, being honest. It always sucks when a director is telling you, "That's great!" when you know it was terrible.

"IT TURNED INTO, "OH, WHAT IF THE MOBSTER'S HENCHMAN WAS KIND OF LIKE A GUY FROM THE APPLE GENIUS BAR?"

You were famously anxious on *SNL*—are you still? It's there the minute you walk into 30 Rock. There's no second take, so if you screw up a joke, that's it. And I've done that—a lot.

Why don't you use social media? I'm semifamous and on talk shows, so I don't know what social media would be good for, and I like a certain degree of privacy. Right before I was about to go on Twitter [for *Trainwreck*], my publicist said, "I kind of don't like you on Twitter. Do you want to be doing this?" I said no, and he said don't do it.

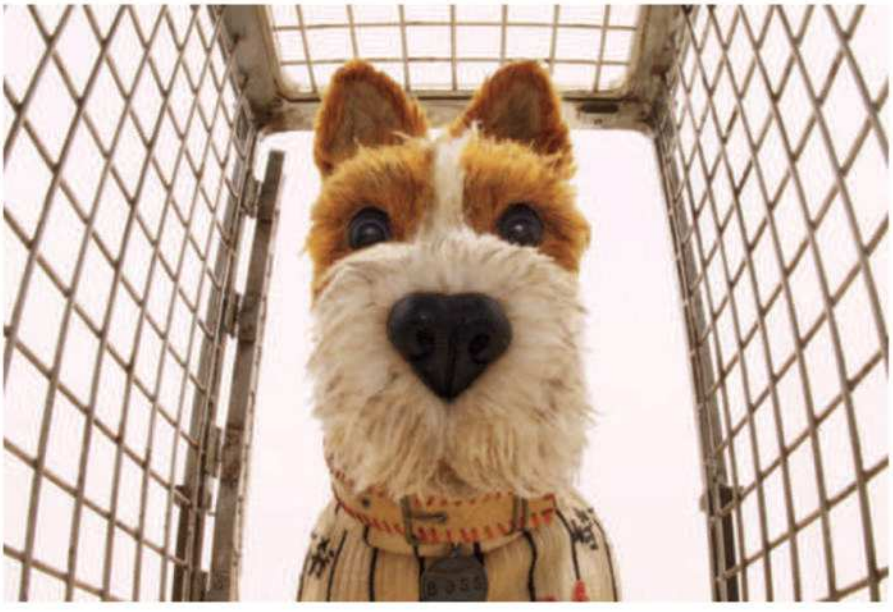
What's New York's hottest club right now? I don't know—I don't go out to clubs. I'm not taking the bait. But I appreciate the effort.

—LUCY FELDMAN

MOVIES

Wes Anderson's *Isle of Dogs* hides the treats

By Stephanie Zacharek



Boss, from Isle of Dogs: *his voice belongs to Bill Murray*

MOVIES THAT WERE A LOT OF WORK TO make shouldn't be a lot of work to watch. But Wes Anderson's ambitious yet faltering stop-motion adventure *Isle of Dogs* sentences us to hard labor every minute: not a moment goes by when we're not reminded how much cleverness, how much painstaking planning, how much meticulous manipulation went into this doggo-dystopia fable set in Japan some 20 years in the future.

In this bleak new world, Kobayashi (Kunichi Nomura), the cruel mayor of a city called Megasaki, has banished all dogs, sending them to almost certain death on remote Trash Island. A mystery ailment known as snout fever has infected the canine population, and could pose a threat to humans as well. To prove that he means business, Kobayashi makes his family's own dog, a speckled cutie named Spots (Liev Schreiber), the first exile. Spots, it turns out, is the beloved bodyguard and best friend of a stout-hearted lad named Atari (Koyu Rankin). Atari flies to Trash Island in a stolen plane, hoping to rescue his pal. He crash-lands, and a motley crew of mutts—their voices belong to a fine group of actors including Bill Murray, Edward Norton and Bryan Cranston—befriend him warily and agree to help.

Meanwhile, back in Megasaki, a group of student activists including American exchange student Tracy Walker (Greta Gerwig), a freckled powerhouse with a blond bouffant, strive to prove that snout fever is really a government conspiracy. And by the time you've processed all the plot threads crisscrossing the *Isle of Dogs* landscape, you're likely to be as confused as a pup who's lost his sense of smell.

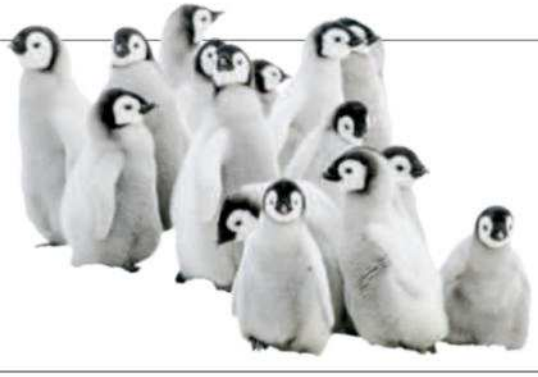
There's no doubt that *Isle of Dogs* was a labor of love, and some of its visuals are terrific: the movie opens with a prologue outlining the (fictional) history of dogs in Japan, from wild things roaming free to docile house pets—the story is told partly through a series of inventive faux woodblock prints featuring canines of all shapes, sizes and colors, and my feelings about the rest of the movie notwithstanding, I'd wallpaper my whole living room with these in a heartbeat. Plus, Anderson dots the movie with witty touches: every once in a while, one of the flu-sickened dogs will offer a distracted little cough, like an asterisk—it's a funny, charming effect.

But *Isle of Dogs* is so packed with detail that the terrific ones barely stand out. Its dog characters are well-designed—they have wiry, dusty coats and expressive heart-shaped noses—but its human characters, with their waxy skin and glassy eyes, are off-putting. And while you can sense some political undertones whirring beneath the surface, Anderson fails to bring them into focus. It's all too bad: Anderson's 2009 *Fantastic Mr. Fox* isn't just one of the finest stop-motion-animation movies ever made, but also a glorious film, period. *Isle of Dogs,* on the other hand, buckles under the weight of its own finicky whimsy. By the end, you might feel exhausted, like a border collie who's worn a circular groove in the carpet. And you didn't even make the movie—you only watched it. □

What to stream now

By Daniel D'Addario

March of the Penguins 2



It's been 13 years since the flightless emperors of *March of the Penguins* first waddled into moviegoers' hearts, earning rave reviews, $127 million at the global box office and a Best Documentary Oscar for director Luc Jacquet. Any film sensation demands a sequel—particularly one with protagonists this cute.

POP CHART

***TIME*'S WEEKLY TAKE ON WHAT POPPED IN CULTURE**

Blue Ivy, Beyoncé and Jay-Z's 6-year-old daughter, **bid $19,000 on an acrylic painting of the actor Sidney Poitier** during an auction at the Wearable Art Gala. She was ultimately outbid by director Tyler Perry but later picked up a different piece for $10,000.

Black Panther became the first movie since *Avatar* to **top the domestic box office five weeks in a row,** pulling in over $605 million in just 31 days.

LOVE IT

LEAVE IT

Allstar Marketing Group, the company behind the Snuggie, **is being forced to issue $7.2 million in refunds** to customers who were deceived by "buy one, get one free" ad campaigns.

ISLE OF DOGS: FOX SEARCHLIGHT; BLACK PANTHER: MARVEL; AVATAR: 20TH CENTURY FOX; PACIFIC RIM: LEGENDARY PICTURES; UNSANE: BLEECKER STREET; PENGUINS: HULU

MOVIES

Soderbergh unnerves with *Unsane*

STEVEN SODERBERGH IS ONE OF THOSE DIRECTORS WHO can do anything—which doesn't necessarily mean he should. His latest experiment, the psychological thriller *Unsane,* was shot on iPhones, which is probably the one thing most people will remember about it 10 years from now. The story—featuring Claire Foy *(The Crown)* as a woman who, after being traumatized by a stalker, suddenly finds herself involuntarily committed to a mental hospital—has a modest, workaday tenseness. Written by Jonathan Bernstein and James Greer, it keeps you guessing, but only up to a point. Not even its grisliest twists pack the wallop they should.

But Soderbergh's semifailures are more interesting than a lot of other director's successes. That's why *Unsane* isn't easily dismissible, especially if you think of it as just one fragment of the wild terrazzo of Soderbergh's career, which includes jaggedly brilliant genre classics like *The Limey* and offbeat crowd-pleasers like *Magic Mike.* The movie is worth seeing for its craftsmanship alone. As the heroine faces down the man who may or may not be her former tormentor—played, with unnerving innocuousness, by Joshua Leonard—Soderbergh makes clever use of wide-angle lenses to tease out shivers of paranoia. The whole thing looks the way a buzzing fluorescent light sounds—it's subliminally discombobulating. This is what makes Soderbergh different from you and me: while we're zoning out on *Candy Crush,* he's working out how to make a feature with a minuscule budget and an even smaller camera. *Unsane* may not be his greatest work, but it's still a rebuke to time wasters everywhere. —S.Z.

Claire Foy and Juno Temple cling to sanity—barely—in Unsane

MOVIES

Pacific Rim Uprising: not so uplifting

Guillermo del Toro's 2013 sci-fi behemoth *Pacific Rim* was big and dumb in a smart way. As the movie's giant manned robots, known as Jaegers, battled a bunch of cranky alien deep-sea beasts (called Kaiju), del Toro shaped the action into something more than just one booming attack after another.

But *Pacific Rim Uprising,* the sequel directed by Steven S. DeKnight, is a whole 'nother kettle of ticked-off amphibians. *Star Wars'* John Boyega stars as Jake Pentecost, the wayward son of one of the earlier film's heroes, who's called to put his skills to use when the previously banished Kaiju suddenly reappear, stronger and smarter than ever. This time, the plot is far less logical than before, and as appealing as Boyega is, he can't do much with lines like "Help me save the world! Let's do this!" The Kaiju deserve better. No wonder they're in such a bad mood. —S.Z.

March of the Penguins 2, depicting the flightless birds raising their vulnerable young in Antarctica, has plenty of footage that will warm each member of the family, like what narrator Morgan Freeman calls the "penguin day care" that provides warmth to chicks.

The film keeps its tone jaunty and mild throughout; reference to climate change is made only implicitly. And yet each shot—like when the camera pulls back to reveal a vista where ice fades into sea, and then zooms to show the birds diving in—brings the sort of wonder that great nature documentary has always done.

But for all its strangeness, from vast expanses of white frost to undersea jellyfish, the penguins' world is not so different from ours. This story, about parents trying to raise chicks that are able to thrive on their own, is both sweet and powerful. If we can relate to these birds, perhaps we can protect the ice that's their home.

HOW TO WATCH

March of the Penguins 2 is streaming on Hulu now

8 Questions

Sean Penn The two-time Academy Award–winning actor discusses the #MeToo movement, Haiti and his debut novel, *Bob Honey Who Just Do Stuff*

The main character of your book is a mercenary who opposes a Trumpian figure. Do you share Bob Honey's worldview? I wrote this book to get myself away from my own worldviews. That doesn't mean they are or are not expressed in the book. It's up to the reader to decide.

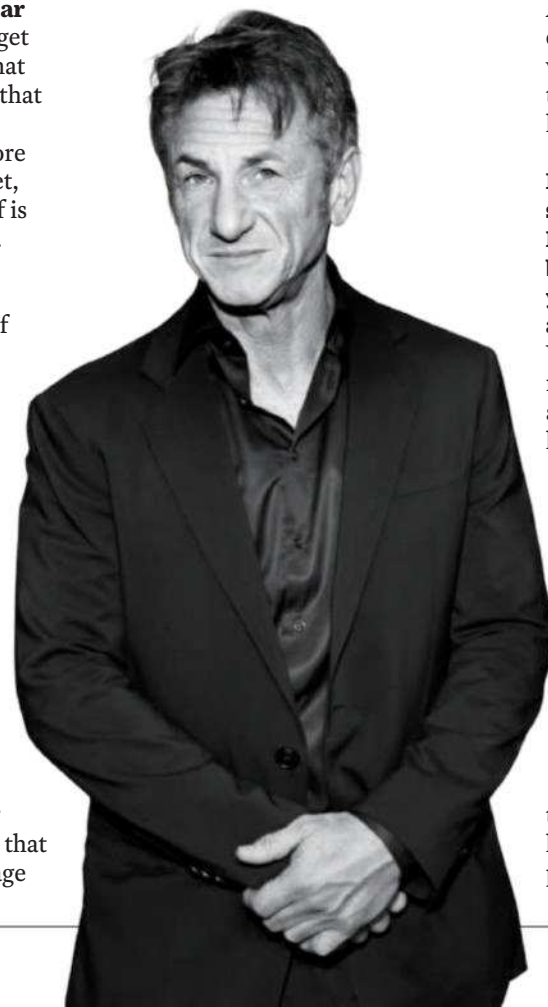
Bob drafts a letter to the Trumpian character saying, "We are a nation in need of an assassin." Are you worried that will be read as you advocating for the assassination of President Trump? No, I'm not worried about that. I think if anybody believes by reading this that I am advocating for something like that, then they are really not getting that this is satire.

Bob targets the elderly. Do you fear getting old? No, I am in a hurry to get old. I've always had it in my head that I'm 77 years old. Now I don't know that I'll make it to that. I've done a little too much smoking. But I do feel more at ease with the world the older I get, despite the fact that the world itself is becoming increasingly challenging.

What can books do that movies can't? Put the vision in the hands of the reader. With a book, you've got a writer and a director—and the director is the reader.

What did you think when Trump described Haiti as a "sh-thole"? I just know so many people who would have been hurt by it, who have lived a hardship that that man's never known. The indignity of his indulgence in his own flamboyance and minor brain is cheapening the air we breathe. I used the book to keep myself from [falling into] the worst thoughts that Bob expresses. When it comes to Sean Penn talking for Sean Penn these days, I even feel that I want to use less flamboyant language than I have, and I'm not a politician.

"SKEPTICISM IS MORE NECESSARY AND VALUABLE THAN ANY BLIND BELIEF ANYBODY HAS ABOUT ANYTHING"



PRESLEY ANN—GETTY IMAGES

A poem in the book criticizes the #MeToo movement and asks if "due process has lost its sheen." After Steve Wynn resigned from his hotel and casino company over sexual-harassment allegations, Trump asked a similar question. What do you make of that overlap? A broken watch has perfect time once a day. There will always be alignments to be found. Certainly there is, in all of us, contradiction.

Do you personally have criticism of how #MeToo has taken shape? I have hopes that it moves more into baby steps, because I want it to win. I fear that when groupthink becomes a media legislation of free speech, and a social-media jury to convict anyone, it is no longer an American process, which is a due process. The greater issue is that there are very serious changes that society needs to make to improve life for women, for homosexuals, for immigrants.

In 2016, you settled a defamation suit with director and producer Lee Daniels, who insinuated that you had been violent toward Madonna during your marriage. Has that experience affected your impression of #MeToo? Yeah. Listen, it wasn't only that. As militant as anybody chooses to be on any subject, so shall I be on my right to healthy skepticism. Skepticism is more necessary and valuable than any blind belief anybody has about anything. No matter what issue we're talking about, I believe every black person can have a point of view on a white person that is legitimate to express. Every man who has a point of view on women's issues, it is legitimate to express, and vice versa. We've got to be a "we" at some point. Once good intentions start forcing everybody into camps, the strategy is off. And then things get worse. If people take some kind of high ground, like only Danish princes can play Hamlet, then we've lost the joy of life. —NATE HOPPER

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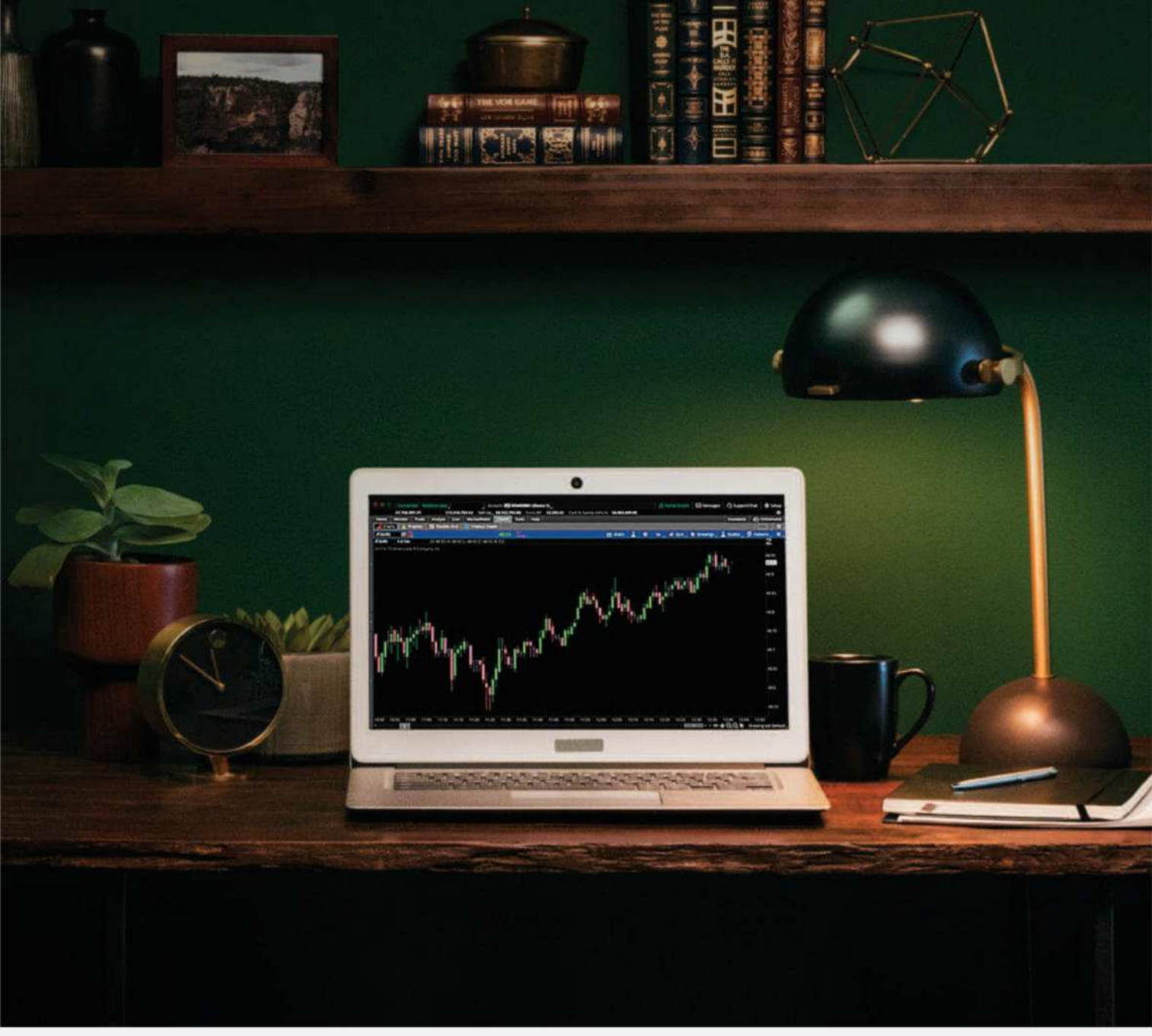

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